L13. Elliott

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

A PALACE IN GENOA.

BY EDWARD SPENCER.

XII—Concluded.

"Never mind it, Helen," said he, soothingly; "that is all past, and shall not come again. I am free from the chain at last."

"Oh, papa!" cried she, sobbing as if her heart were sore indeed, "why have you been so cruel! You are killing us, mother and me—breaking our hearts. Why will you do so? You keep away—you shun us—you will not let us console you—and all the while, you are dashing your heart away with some hidden grief in this dismal, uncouth den! It must not be—you are killing me—killing me!"

"Let me not think that, dearest," said he, gently. "I have enough to answer for as it is. And, pet, I will do better now; I have some sense of duty, and *can* perform it, *sometimes*, though you may think otherwise. I shall be better now—oh, Helen, darling," and he shuddered palpably, "I have *so* suffered! That must be my excuse. I have so wished to die—to steep myself in unthought! Great God! child, it has been Hell, here in my heart, all this long time—dark, seething, smouldering Hell: no hope, no joy—only ceaseless woe, ceaseless pain, ceaseless despair!"

"But you will shake it off? You will come to me, to mother, when you suffer most, instead of languishing here—you will come to us?" said she, eagerly, tremulously, clasping him to her with warm, loving arms.

"Yes, dearest, I will come."

"And oh, my father, promise me you will give up this horrid cell! that you will never again enter it, but will let me lock it, and keep the key. 'Tis this place has made you suffer so—I know it. That mournful cry of despair, written there upon the wall, is enough to chill your blood—oh, promise!"

"I promise, Helen."

"That is my dearest father! Oh, we will be so happy together, presently. And mamma will learn how to smile again. And you—'tis a pity you do not laugh—when you have such white teeth! I am happy already, papa, so happy—for, dear, I was so, *so* afraid some awful thing was the matter, and we had lost you, forever! Oh, such an awful fear it was! I have dreamed it at night, pa, until I had to start out of bed and light my lamp to weep by"——

"Dreams!" murmured he, as if the shadows of those terrible presences had fallen suddenly athwart him, chilling him like contact with the black death-flood of Acheron. He shuddered, paled, and pressed his hand before his eyes.

"But we will have no more such fearful dreams," said she, gaily; "our dreams henceforth will be all music and flowers and sunshine. Yes, you must never come here any more; we must lock all the horrid shadows and moody thoughts in here—this door will keep them safe enough, I think. And I will fix you up such a delicious nook, papa. You know our little room with the great sun-painted window, between your cradle and mine? Well, there's a little carpet will just suit it, and George shall get some shelves made, and I will cheat you into telling me what are just your favorite books, and, some day, when you and mamma are out riding on the Cornice road, or towards Monte Faccio—you must drive her out, you know, for both need exercise and the fresh air—I will put the shelves up, so that when you come home you will smile to see yourself suddenly in the company of those beloved old friends. Won't it be nice, and such a glad surprise! Meantime, the room shall be put in order this very day, and we will have your desk and papers moved up, and you can study there in the clear daylight—oh, *so* much better! And sometimes, when you are busy, and gloomy thoughts vex you, you must not stay *in them*, and burn them. Helen, see that it is properly done, will you, child? And—do not read them."

"Oh, I will attend to it," cried Helen, joyfully; "I know that those wicked papers have done you harm. What a bonfire we will have, won't we, George?—a perfect *auto-da-fé*."

George stared at them in a very bewildered sort of way.

"I may tell him?" asked she, half by whisper, half by look, of her father; then she twirled the key of the *Oubliette* triumphantly in her hand, saying, with the brightest smile, "See, George, good, kind George, this is mine—mine! You know what that means? We are never going into that dark place any more, but we are going to work and study together; and oh, I am so happy!"

The negro's eyes fairly glistened, but he said nothing, only proceeded with his brushing and manipulations with redoubled vigor and spirit.

"George," said Mr. Lloyd, holding out his hand, "I am going to *try*, my faithful friend. You will help me?"

George touched the hand a moment with his own, while he gazed into his master's face. Then he turned quickly away, his hands seeming possessed with unusual bustle.

"Sar, ef you want me to shave you, don't talk to me now, please. I'se jest got 'bout as much es I kin hold. More too. You look somewhar else, Miss Helen, else you got to shave you father youself. I knows jest one thin'. Yistedday, I wisht I was outen dis pallis—prayed to de Lord to le'mme go. Jest now," said he, with a smile and tone full of an indescribably humorous pathos; "jest now et 'pears to me 'bout es good a place to live in as I ever see. Miss Helen!" cried he, with a sudden passionate impulse, "you *is* an angel! I know'd it, fust time I seed you. Oh, you kin laugh, but me an' you knows all about dat, don't we, marster?"

"Yes, George, and we must prove our sense of God's goodness, in sending us such a blessing."

"Why, pa, what have I done to be so exalted? You would not have me selfish, would you? I am happy enough to live in the sunshine, and I only wanted you to share it with me. There is room enough for us all. And one is happier for seeing all around her happy."

"Not always, my child," said Mr. Lloyd, sadly, remembering his feelings upon that subject in the height of his gloom and the madness of his defiance.

"I likes my eysters to be better'n anybody else's," confessed George with a candid *naiveté*, which made Mr. Lloyd smile, in spite of himself.

Then, George having finished his offices, Helen declared she was determined to see her father nicely fixed; and to that end was very busy about him before the glass, arranging his collar, tying his cravat in a dainty knot, and mingling little kisses and caresses, and lively words, with her pleasant task. At last, having done all she could, she gazed into his face a moment, saying, "You look ten years younger. Now go and see the visiter, and be very good. After he is gone, you must come to my rooms, which I will darken up, so that you can lie down upon the sofa, and have a good nap before dinner. I will watch you, for I see you need rest very much. And, if you are very good, you shall dine *en famille* to-day. Be sure, now, to come to me as soon as that hideous black-bearded monster in there has finished his talk. I expect he comes begging."

With these words, and a kiss, she suffered him to go, dancing off herself, and twigging George's ear, as she skipped past him along the corridor. She was very happy, because she had helped to cause happiness.

That is woman's way, always. The more diffusive she can make her light, the brighter glows that light itself. God bless thee, woman, heart-full, true, loving woman! God *hath* blessed thee, and with a blessing mightier than the blessing of man, for He hath given thee, instead of the cavilling understanding, that which is far higher, nobler, more Godlike, the *Pure Reason*, which *feels*, not is *convinced*, which acts by the heart, does not postulate from the brain; and He hath given thee Love so great, that there is pleasure to thee in loving, aye, in the very *act of Love*, aside from its gifts and offices, its royal place and its imperial emoluments. Shall we wonder that our original father was comforted even in his banishment, with the desert stretching all before him, and the glare of the sword driving him on—comforted, because his hand was linked in thine, woman, and thy voice assumed the fault? *Ecce signum!* By this love thy weakness conquers death.

"By the hope
[illegible]
This love—by it thou winnest again the Heaven which once thou lost us, and from it reachest down thy hand to lift us up. If we be too heavy, this love of thine even brings thee back again to our side, to share whatever may be our lot. So, we must bless thee;

"If sin came by thee,
And by sin, death—the ransom—righteousness,
The heavenly life and compensative rest
Come by ti ee too. * * *

Be satis-fied;
Something thou hast to bear through woe and hood—
Peculiar suffering answering to the sin. * * *
* * * But go to! thy love
Shall chant itself its own beatitudes,
After its own life-working. * * *
* * * Such a crown
I s upon thy head, to keep thee clear
Of all reproach against the sin foregone—
Thy hand which plucked the apple I clasp close;
Thy lips which spake wrong counsel, I kiss close—
Unless thee in the name of Paradise,
And by the memory of Edenic joys
Forfeit and lost."

XIII.

Chiaro 'Scuro.

"Let Love clasp Grief, lest both be drowned,
Let darkness keep her raven glo-s;
Ah! sweeter to be drunk with loss,
To dance with death, to beat the ground

"Than that the victor hours should scorn
The long result of love, and boast:
'Behold the man that loved and lost,
But all he was is overworn.'"

Il Palazzo Cieco had many shadows in its lofty rooms, in its *oubliettes*, in its long, sounding corridors, and athwart its broad, stately stairs. Shadows gloomy enough at times; shadows that lay long and black, like the forms of some one murdered and cold; shadows that flecked the wainscot, and stained the marble flags like gouts of blood nefariously shed; shadows that flitted to and fro, and up and down, with the mysterious noiselessness of ghosts. Why should not those fallen Garamelis revisit their old familiar halls, and, sighing, peep into their own familiar chambers, which the plebeian *Forestiere* were now desecrating? And the lovers—shall we wonder if lovely Mary comes back to Holyrood, and sighs and wrings her hands by the spot where the cruel daggers pierced poor Rizzio? And in Venice, at midnight, hast never seen that spectral gondola gliding, noiseless, with no music of scull, no verses of Tasso, along the Grand Canal? 'Tis Lucrezia; she of the pale yellow hair, seeking her Gennaro, whom she has poisoned, whom she loves, whose voice she will never, never hear again, for he is dead! Ah, miserable death, coming thus ever, with thy cold breath, between us!

But we are no ghost-seers; and if we were, there would be small chance of our being gratified now, for to-day the shadows are weak and faint and pale—very pale—in *Palazzo Cieco*. It is quite a happy palace to-day. The sun shines as if determined to out-do his youth—as if resolved to hint to us of some of those resplendent glories he shed down upon Eden on that day when Adam, walking through the garden, found his bride a toying with her tresses by the fountain's brink. Sunshiny Pepe, in the garden, tumbles about like a kitten, singing, and keeping up a lively castanet accompaniment with thumb and fingers. Orazio has received a largesse, and now sits in the doorway with a bottle of sweet wine and a platter of figs. *Bene! Bene!* Life is like Madonna's smile this day! The lizards are exuberantly merry; they run up and down, they spread themselves in the warm ledges and cracks of the wall, now darting upon a fly, now snoozing with one eye open, now prone upon their backs, with legs stretched out, sunning their yellow bellies! Verily, *Palazzo Cieco* is a happy palace to-day. George has mounted a stupendous white cravat, tied in the most outrageous of bow-knots; his hair is wonderfully combed, *of them*, and burn them. Helen, see that it is and burned with pomatum; he has on a pair of properly done, will you, child? And—do not white kid gloves, and is in a state of mind bordering on the ecstatic. Helen has been dressing herself in her gayest apparel, and has just come forth, like a bird of Paradise, in the sunshine, to the admiration of Pepe, Orazio, and George. Mr. Lloyd, in a loose dressing-gown, is sitting in the doorway, with a book in his hand, which he has been reading, but which he has now forgotten, and is looking out upon the sunshine, and the happy faces, and the gay dresses, and the flowers, and the birds, and the lizards, and the fountain, and the cypresses, and the blue sky, and the blue sea, and the blue mountains, and the white villages, and the white sails, and the white clouds, and the white Carrara statues, and the white Carrara palaces, and the white Carrara roads, and the white Carrara everything, and is thinking how beautiful it all is, and how happy he is, and how he has been a fool, and how he has been a madman, and how he has been a wicked man, and how he has been a miserable man, and how he has been a blind man, and how he has been a deaf man, and how he has been a dumb man, and how he has been a dead man, and how he has been a damned man, and how he has been a lost man, and how he has been a ruined man, and how he has been a blasted man, and how he has been a cursed man, and how he has been a forsaken man, and how he has been a man, and how he has been a woman, and how he has been a child, and how he has been a baby, and how he has been a fetus, and how he has been a nothing, and how he has been a thought, and how he has been a dream, and how he has been a shadow, and how he has been a shade, and how he has been a ghost, and how he has been a spirit, and how he has been a breath, and how he has been a sigh, and how he has been a tear, and how he has been a pain, and how he has been a sorrow, and how he has been a grief, and how he has been a despair, and how he has been a hell, and how he has been a heaven, and how he has been a love, and how he has been a life, and how he has been a God, and how he has been a Christ, and how he has been a Holy Ghost, and how he has been a Trinity, and how he has been a Unity, and how he has been a Nothing, and how he has been a Something, and how he has been a 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fore am without hope in the Union; so are hundreds of thousands of my countrymen at home. The most confiding of them all are, sir, for 'equality in the Union or independence out of it;' having lost all hope of the former, I am for '*independence now, and independence forever.*'"

It is but fair, however, to admit that generally the threats of secession made by Southern Democrats have been qualified by a contingency, which I trust is not very far in the future, viz: the election of a Republican President. Thus, the gentleman last quoted, [Mr. Crawford,] in the same speech, and just preceding the extract already given, says:

"Now, in regard to the election of a Black Republican President, I have this to say, and I speak the sentiment of every Democrat on this floor from Georgia, we will never submit to the inauguration of a Black Republican President. [Applause from the Democratic benches, and hisses from the Republicans.] I repeat it, sir, and I have the authority to say so, that no Democratic Representative from Georgia on this floor will ever submit to the inauguration of a Black Republican President. [Renewed applause and hisses.]"

You perceive by this last quotation, which, like the first, is clipped from his published speech, that his pronunciamiento in behalf of himself and all his Democratic colleagues was received with applause by the Democratic benches. I cannot refrain from remarking, right here, that my Democratic colleague, Mr. Holman, has delivered his first speech on the floor of the House; a speech quite replete with matter to admire, and containing some Union doctrines worthy of all approval. But, when he closed with the noble sentiment that, "with the consent of Indiana, no parricidal hand, 'in the insolence of pride, or the madness of power,' should touch the Constitution for its destruction," there came no applauding note from his Democratic associates of the South. Evidently, there was too much love of the Union in his speech.

I must hasten to complete my selection of Democratic gems from the debates of the present session, giving you only samples of an extensive stock; for I wish to make room for "a few more of the same sort," to be found in great abundance outside of our Congressional Debating School.

Further quotations from the speeches of members may as well come chronologically, beginning with Mr. Davis, of Miss., who, on the 8th inst., (see Congressional Globe, p. 69,) said:

"We are arming, but not against the Government. We are arming to put down rebellion against the Government. We are for the Government When you presented Fremont as a sectional candidate for the Presidency, representing the system of free labor in opposition to the system of slave labor, you undertook to seize the Government for yourselves, in violation of the letter and spirit of the Constitution. In doing that, you were guilty of organizing rebellion against the Government, with a view of diverting it to purposes not legitimately its own. Against that rebellion we intend to act. We mean to put it down, even if we have to do it with the bayonet; and I call upon the South Americans and the North Americans to come forward and aid us in putting down rebellion."

Here we are told, and it's a comfort to know it, that the attempt to make Fremont President was organized rebellion, and that such attempts, if not otherwise put down, must be frustrated by the bayonet!

On the same day, Mr. Moore, of Alabama, replying to Mr. Nelson, said:

"I was astonished to hear that gentleman's declaration that the election to the Presidency of William H. Seward, or Chase, or any other Black Republican candidate, entertaining like opinions with them, would not be a sufficient cause for a dissolution of the Union. He said he would wait for some overt act. I should consider the election of such a candidate, by a Northern sectional majority, as a declaration of war against our rights; and I rejoice in the belief that those whom I represent, and the gallant State to which I owe my first and highest allegiance, will not hesitate in such contingency, let the consequences be what they may, to fall back on their reserved rights, and declare to the world, 'As for this Union, we have no longer any lot or part in it.'"

Next comes the sentiment of Mr. Curry, of Alabama, who is one of the coolest, clearest, and most gentlemanly debaters in the House. On the 10th instant, (see *Globe*, p. 95,) he made use of the following language:

"Now, sir, however distasteful it may be to my friend from New York, [Mr. Clark,] however much it may revolt the public sentiment or conscience of this country, I am not ashamed or afraid publicly to avow that the election of William H. Seward or Salmon P. Chase, or any such representative of the Republican party, upon a sectional platform, ought to be resisted to the disruption of every tie that binds this Confederacy together."

The *Globe* report shows, though the pamphlet edition of his speech does not, that this declaration was applauded on the Democratic side.

On the 14th December, Mr. McRae, of Mississippi, spoke as follows:

"Well, sir, I do not hesitate to say here, as I said to my constituents at home—and I was sent here, first, without seeking the position, and I was sent back again without opposition—that if a Republican President is elected upon that platform under which they say they will legislate the rights of the Southern portion of the Confederacy away, I, for one, am not willing to submit to it. I said to my constituents, and to the people at the capital of my State on my way here, that if such an event did occur, while it would be their duty to determine the course which the State would pursue, it would be my privilege to counsel with them as to what I believed to be the proper course; and I said to them, what I say now, and will always say in such an event, that my counsel would be to take independence out of the Union, in preference to the loss of constitutional rights, and consequent degradation and dishonor. in it. That is my position, and it is the position which I know the Democratic party of the State of Mississippi will maintain." (See *Globe*, p. 157.)

Two days later, we find Mr. Bonham, of South Carolina, speaking for himself, his constituents, and, as he thinks, for his State, thus:

"Gentlemen of the North talk of forcing us back into the Union; and the honorable gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Hickman] speaks of the numerical power of the North being sufficient to compel us to remain in the Union. Sir, whenever force is found necessary or expedient, the Union no longer exists; and as to disunion, upon the election of a Black Republican, I can speak for no one but myself and those I have the honor to represent; and I say, without hesitation, that upon the election of Mr. Seward, or any other man who endorses and proclaims the doctrines held by him and his party—call him by what name you please—I am in favor of an immediate dissolution of the Union. And, sir, I think I speak the sentiments of my own constituents, and the State of South Carolina, when I say so." (Cong. Globe, p. 167.)

Perhaps one more extract from the debates will suffice. It is from the speech of Mr. Davidson, of Louisiana, a man whom I have been accustomed to regard and esteem as one of the most conservative and national men in the Southern delegation. You may have noticed, in reading the proceedings, that some eminent South Americans have said that the election of a Republican President should not, *per se*, be regarded as good cause for breaking up the Government, but that the South should "wait for some overt act." You will perceive that Mr. Davidson "takes the bull by the horns." He claims that the overt act is committed in advance. Here are his views, as expressed on the 21st instant. (See *Globe*, p. 200.)

"You may conceive the deep regret I felt when this irrepressible-conflict speech was put into my hands; because, in my canvass, the question was distinctly asked, whether I considered the election of William H. Seward to the Presidency as sufficient cause for the dissolution of the Union? I said, no; because I had never read this speech nor seen its accordance—signed by the sixty-eight Congressmen—or known of the overt act at Harper's Ferry; but so far as he is concerned now—having seen the fact of irrepressible conflict and circulation of 'Impending Crisis'—in my opinion, he and his party have now committed the overt act; for he and they are accessories before the fact to the murders and treason and sedition committed at Harper's Ferry."

Mr. Davidson is a lawyer, and well knew the meaning of the legal phrase, "accessories before the fact," when he applied it to your Representative, and the sixty-seven other Congressmen whose names are appended to the Helper circular.

I turn now from the Congressional vein to even a "richer lead;" but can here only give you samples from an almost inexhaustible mine. Passing by the action of the South Carolina and other Southern Legislatures, let us see what the people are doing. I have before me two numbers of the Richmond *Enquirer*, the Democratic organ of Virginia, and I may with truth add, the leading Democratic paper of the South. I take it regularly, and for present purposes pick up the numbers for December 21st and 28th. These contain the proceedings of no less than twenty public meetings lately held in different parts of Virginia. Speaking in general terms of the resolutions adopted and speeches made at these meetings, it may be said that they recommend non-intercourse, the withdrawal of all patronage from Northern merchants, manufactories, and newspapers, the establishment of direct trade with Europe, the levying of onerous taxes on goods bought in the North, the expulsion of itinerant traders, the organization of vigilance committees to watch all strangers, the formation of military companies all over the State, the calling of a Southern Congress, and conditional disunion. To quote so many of these resolves as would serve for specimens of all would swell this letter to an unreasonable length. I will clip only a few, and almost at random. The following were adopted at a meeting—said to be large and enthusiastic—of the citizens of Northampton county:

"Miers W. Fisher, Esq., offered the following preamble and resolutions, which, amidst great cheering, were unanimously adopted by the meeting:

"'In view of the threatening aspect of the public affairs of the country, we, the citizens of Northampton county, in public meeting assembled, do

"'*Resolve*, That our Delegate and Senator in the Legislature of Virginia are hereby respectfully requested to support, actively, some plan for the reorganization of the militia of this State, and for thoroughly drilling and organizing same, and for furnishing them with the most approved and efficient arms.'

"The following resolution was offered by Dr. William G. Smith, and unanimously adopted:

"'*Resolved*, (as the sense of this meeting,) That our State Legislature should pass laws laying a discriminating tax upon merchants in this State dealing with the North, and offering, if necessary, a bounty to those dealing with Southern manufacturers, and those importing foreign goods directly into Southern ports. And our Delegate and Senator in the Legislature are requested to sustain such measures.'"

Isle of Wight county, under the lead, it would seem, of the ladies, speaks as follows:

"2. *Resolved*, That we heartily concur with the ladies of our county in the movement made by them to form a society pledged against the purchase or use of any article manufactured in a non-slaveholding State; and that we will use our best endeavors to induce our citizens to purchase exclusively of merchants who sell goods of foreign importation or Southern manufacture.

"3. *Resolved*, That we recommend to our citizens the importance of patronizing Southern teachers and institutions of learning, and the propriety of abstaining from encouraging all kinds of Northern newspapers and periodicals."

Essex county goes in for a smelling committee, as follows:

"2. *Resolved*, That we entertain no fear for the institutions of the South, so long as her rights are regarded by the Federal Government, but from the insidious strangers who, under the guise of peddling their small wares, or other pretences, intrude themselves into our midst.

"3. *Resolved*, That whilst we would not infringe upon private rights, or withhold the rites of hospitality from those entitled to enjoy them, be they from whatever portion of the globe, we hold that self-preservation, and the peace and safety of our community, have a higher claim upon us.

"4. *Resolved*, That a committee of six in each magisterial district be appointed by this meeting, whose especial duty it shall be, aided by all good citizens, to inquire into the character of all strangers, or any person among us, whose character is at all suspicious, and if they do not give a satisfactory account of themselves, to order them immediately to leave; and that we pledge ourselves to aid in enforcing their departure by every means in our power."

The people of Palmyra, though sound on the question of "Protection to Home Industry," have a facetious way of defining their position, thus:

"3. *Resolved*, That we condemn the encouragement of all periodicals and journals, North. Though the publishers may be 'sound on the goose,' their workmen may not; and if we give them our support, 'we may give them a stick to break our heads.' A number of us are guilty of the practice. We do pledge our 'honors' to abandon the principle, and believe in the old adage, 'to go the whole hog or none.'

"4. *Resolved*, That we do not approve of these table-cloth, window-curtain, fruit-tree, quack-medicine, or any kind of nostrum pedlars or venders, that have been imposing upon the good-natured and unsuspecting; and if they persist in this practice, we do solemnly bind and pledge ourselves to give them, gratis, 'the inside of the pine and the outside of the goose,' and honor them with a 'free ride on a rail,' unless they give satisfactory evidence that they are 'right side up.'

"5. *Resolved*, That we do not countenance anything from the North, and earnestly request the good people of the South to be on their guard, and not aid in 'building up' *their institutions.*

"6. *Resolved*, That we recommend to various companies (forming at the South) to equip themselves entirely of *home manufacture*, and not resort to the fancy ornaments of the North. Remember the hunting-shirt and buckskin suit of our revolutionary sires, and let not the highly-polished blade of Massachusetts manufacture enter your ranks, (as formerly.) Look upon it as 'a wolf entering your sheep's fold.'"

Louisa county appoints a vigilance committee, and pronounces for disunion whenever the Republicans triumph:

"2. *Resolved*, That the conservative element at the North is either powerless or too indifferent to control public opinion there, or to curb fanaticism; and that we must rely on ourselves to guard and defend our honor, our institutions, and our rights.

"3. *Resolved*, That, dearly as we have loved the Union, and the memories associated with it, we do not desire its preservation, except in strict accordance with the Constitution.

"4. *Resolved*, That the election of William H. Seward, or of any member of the Black Republican party, to the Presidency of the United States, ought to be immediately followed by the secession of all the slaveholding States from this Confederacy, and the prevention of any organization of a Federal Administration under such a President.

"5. *Resolved*, That a Vigilance Committee of twelve, for this magisterial district, be appointed by the Chair, (and that the citizens be requested to assist them,) whose duty it shall be to arrest, examine, and search, if necessary, all suspicious interant strangers, pedlars, &c., who may be found associating, or be suspected of associating, with slaves or free negroes, and to take such steps as will effectually prevent their meddling with them."

The Chair then appointed vigilance committees, under the foregoing resolutions.

Richmond county is of course very decided as to the character of certain Northern statesmen and preachers, while on the subject of non-intercourse she out-helps Mr. Helper.

"*Resolved*, That we regard Seward, Hale, Sumner, Wilson, and the entire band of abolitionists, including the robbery, perjury, and murder-advocating harangquers of Northern pulpits, more guilty of treason and murder and more deserving of the felon's doom than was John Brown himself.

"*Resolved*, That non-intercourse with Northern people shall be our motto hereafter; and we pledge ourselves that it shall be strictly adhered to."

Here is what the people of Prince Edward's county say of the fate of the Union, and with their resolve I drop the scissors:

"4. That we look to the result of the next election of a President as probably decisive of the fate of the Union; and we hold, that if that election result in the success of the Abolition or Black Republican party, on the principles now avowed by that party, then the time will have come when the South may be compelled, by a proper regard to her interests and her rights, to withdraw from the Union."

And now, in view of these bitter, proscriptive, and disunion sentiments, what shall be said of the Democratic party? Shall it be called a Disunion party? That would not be strictly fair, though it would be a thousand times nearer the truth than is the charge of disunion when made against Republicans. It is fair, and only fair, to say that *it is in affiliation with the disunionists.* Within its ranks, and in good standing, there is room for all the men who have uttered these disunion speeches and endorsed these proscriptive and disunion resolves. No one proposes to read them out of the party. On the contrary, they have the confidence of those in high places. Thus, Hon. Charles J. Faulkner, of Va., was the other day appointed one of a committee to superintend the distribution of Democratic documents for the next campaign; and yet, since the Harper's Ferry raid, he has expressed the following sentiment in a speech delivered to a meeting in Berkley county, over which he presided:

"When that noble and gallant son of Virginia, Henry A. Wise, declared, as he did in October, 1856, that if Fremont should be elected, *he would seize the National arsenal at Harper's Ferry*, how few would at that time have justified so bold and decided a measure? *It is the fortune of some great and gifted minds to see far in advance of their co-temporaries.* Should William H. Seward be elected in 1860, where is the man now in our midst *who would not call for the impeachment of a Governor of Virginia who would silently suffer that armory to pass under the control of such an Executive head?*"

Now, suppose, instead of uttering this revolting sentiment, he had said, as he did say a few years ago in a speech in Virginia House of Delegates, on the subject of slavery, "Sir, being thus injurious, have we not a right to demand its extermination? *Shall society suffer, that the slaveholder may continue to gather his crop of human flesh?* Must the country languish, droop, *die*, that the slaveholder may flourish?" Does any one suppose that with such anti-slavery doctrines fresh from his lips in 1859, he could have found a place on a Democratic committee anywhere? *No; the lamentable truth is, that rank disunionism disqualifies no man for [illegible] whose own spoken opposition to slavery does.**

To one other matter I would like to refer, but do it very briefly. I allude to the tameness and meekness with which these threats of secession are sometimes received by Northern Democrats. They can even see it to be right to apologize for their utterance. For example: after Senator *Iverson* proposed and advised secession on the election of Mr. Sherman, as already quoted, a distinguished Northern Senator spoke as follows:

"Now, sir, I do not agree with the extreme views of my friend from Georgia. I have told him over and over that the only effect of his doctrines is to weaken those who stand by the rights of the South, in the North. But, sir, the difference in the position of the Northern and Southern States on this subject ought to be appreciated by many of our people in the North, who do not, I think, properly realize the position of Southern men. I mean that they do not allow themselves to realize the position of the Southern people. Suppose we had any common institution in the North—it matters not what it might be; it might be the relation of marriage, if you please, or some general law regulating commerce or the sale of liquor—suppose we had maintained it for a long time, and believed it to be right, believed it to be in no way offensive to Christianity or morality; and suppose the Southern people were constantly denouncing us because of that law; suppose they were to assimilate it to Mormonism; suppose they used degrading epithets in reference to it, and even suggested that, because of that institution, they would have no further intercourse with us, and that they could not have further intercourse, because that intercourse would be degrading, or would be, to some extent, countenancing a great wrong; I ask, how would we feel, and how would we act?"

I cannot comment coolly on such language, nor indeed is comment necessary.

Verily, there are clouds in our political sky, and he who does not heed them is not wise.

* Since this article was written, Mr. Faulkner has been confirmed as Minister to France.

For the National Era.

PROSPECTIVE INCREASE OF THE COLORED RACE IN THE U. STATES.

It was said some years ago, by a very talented gentleman, who had been in Congress, from Pennsylvania, and had resigned his seat, that making speeches in Congress was only a way of writing for the newspapers. But he said it had one advantage over other modes of writing for the newspapers; it secured the publication of a great deal of matter that otherwise would never get into print.

We have just now a large number of gentlemen at Washington, engaged in this mode of writing for the newspapers; and no sensible man can fail to be satisfied, on reading the effusions of most of them, that if they had not been speeches in Congress they never would have been printed; and, moreover, that if they never had been printed, it would have been much better for the reputation of their authors.

The great subjects of debate in Congress, so far, this year, have been the negroes and the dissolution of the Union. These, every one will admit, are important matters; and, with your leave, I propose to look at them a little:

There were of negroes, free and slaves, in the United States—

In 1790 - - -	757,263
In 1800 - - -	1,001,436
In 1810 - - -	1,379,800
In 1820 - - -	1,779,885
In 1830 - - -	2,328,642
In 1840 - - -	2,873,703
In 1850 - - -	3,591,000

Taking the ratio of increase to be hereafter the same that it was from 1840 to 1850, there will be of negroes in the United States—

In 1860 - - -	4,488,750
In 1870 - - -	5,610,937
In 1880 - - -	7,013,696
In 1890 - - -	8,767,120
In 1900 - - -	10,958,900
In 1910 - - -	13,698,625
In 1920 - - -	17,123,281
In 1930 - - -	21,404,091
In 1940 - - -	26,755,111
In 1950 - - -	33,443,888
In 1960 - - -	41,804,860

In one hundred years from this time, at the present rate of increase, there will be in the United States 41,804,860 negroes, and they will be almost all within the bounds of the States in which slavery now exists. In many of the free States there have been laws passed already to prevent negroes from coming into them to settle. We may blame those States as much as we please for passing such laws, but it is nevertheless a fact, that such laws have been passed, and that they accord with the public opinion of the States in which they have been passed. It is, moreover, a fact, think of its propriety as we may, that there is a strong and a growing dislike in all the free States against having a negro population within them. And, judging from present appearances, it will not be many years till there will be laws in all the free States prohibiting the immigration of negroes. Now, if this should take place, the South will have to keep its negroes, whether it will or not. It may pass laws reducing its free negroes to slavery. But that will not mend the matter. Whether free or bond, they will be still among them; and, as Judge Catron says, the only effect of reducing the free negroes to slavery will be to send them into their negro quarters to preach rebellion.

Now, just think of the condition of our slave States, with forty millions of negroes in them—forty millions of negroes, with the wrongs of centuries rankling in their bosoms, and prompting them to take vengeance on their oppressors. We are told, by Southern newspapers and Southern members of Congress, that the mothers and daughters of the South cannot sleep at night now, for fear of being murdered by their slaves. If they live in such terror now, with four millions of negroes among them, what will be the case with their granddaughters, with forty millions of negroes among them? Would it not be wise in Southern men to stop in the midst of their blustering and bullying, and reflect a little on this matter? Has it ever occurred to them to ask themselves how their great-grandchildren are going to hold forty millions of negroes in slavery? Or their grandchildren twenty-five millions? Or their children fifteen millions? When in the world's history have ever forty millions of persons been held in slavery in any one country? Does not every intelligent man know that such a thing has never been done? And does not every man's instincts teach him that such a thing never can be done? Our Southern friends are very much in the habit of boasting about their honor and chivalry. Is it either honorable or chivalrous to leave such an inheritance to their children and children's children?—an inheritance that, as sure as the negro continues to be human, and to have human feelings, will be an inheritance of blood.

When the ancient Egyptians saw the Hebrews, their slaves, increasing among them, their King said, "Behold, they of the children of Israel will be moore and mightier than we. Let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply, and it come to pass that, when there falleth out any war, they join our enemies, and fight against us. And he spake to the Hebrew midwives, that, whenever a Hebrew woman bore a son, they should kill him," and in that way prevent them from multiplying. There was certainly much cruelty and wickedness in this; but there was, at the same time, much cunning in it. It was, at the least, a pretty sure way to prevent the Hebrew slaves from increasing to such an extent as to become dangerous to the Egyptians, their masters. Nobody would justify the Egyptians in attempting to prevent, in the way they did, the Hebrews from multiplying; but at the same time, nobody can fail to see that their fears, on account of their multiplying, were well founded. There was not only danger that when they became more and mightier than the Egyptians, they would, in case of war, join their enemies, and fight against them, but that they would rise up themselves, and murder their masters. Our Southern slaveholders do not have the wise foresight of the Egyptians. They see their negro slaves increasing at a rate that cannot but be alarming to every sane man; and yet, instead of taking any steps to prevent the increase, they are clamorous to hasten it, by importing more negroes from Africa. If it is true that Heaven is about to destroy those whom it makes mad, one cannot contemplate the conduct of our Southern friends in this respect without sad forebodings.

The Southern politicians, if their bullying speeches are an index of their thoughts, seem ready to go to war with the North and all the rest of the civilized world, on account of slavery. Governor Wise is reported to have said lately, in a public speech, that he was ready to overrun the North, and to invade Canada, to chastise the British for harboring runaway slaves. Would it not be well for those valorous Southrons to reflect, as Pharaoh did, whether there is not danger of their slaves, in case of war, joining their enemies, and fighting against their masters? Would it not, at least, be prudent for his Governorship to ask himself whether, when he is on his foray to the Northern States and Canada, there will not be danger of the slaves rising up and spreading fire and blood through the South? Leaving the Northern States out of view, if the Governor of Virginia should invade British territory, is anybody who knows anything about Great Britain silly enough to think that it would not return the compliment by invading Virginia? What would his ex-Excellency think, if England should send a fleet of war steamers into the Chesapeake, and land a few black regiments among the "first families?" Possibly our Southern friends have overlooked the fact, that Great Britain keeps constantly a large, well-disciplined, well-equipped, army of "blacks," within a few hours sail of our shores—an army which, if it was to land in our Southern States, the great mass of the slaves would hail as brothers and deliverers. If they have overlooked this fact, would it not be well for them to post themselves up in regard to it, before they indulge much in boastings like that of Governor Wise?

But the South is going to dissolve the Union if the North does not let it have its own way in regard to slavery. Southern editors and Southern members of Congress talk about the dissolution of the Union, as if they thought that all that was necessary to bring it about, was for them to speak the word. But, if they try the thing, they will find themselves terribly mistaken. It is not the nature of great nations to be dissolved by a word. The world has never seen such a thing happen, and it never will. Nothing in the world dies without a struggle. The death struggle of everything is commensurate with its strength. The death struggle of a mighty nation has never done less than make the world tremble; and our nation is not going to be an exception in this respect. To talk about dissolving the Union peaceably, is to talk like big babies. The thing is impossible. The very quarrelsomeness and rancor that makes a dissolution necessary will immutably prevent it from taking place peaceably.

Now, let a war take place between the North and the South to dissolve the Union, it will be a war about slavery. It will be so viewed by the people of both sections; it will be so viewed by the black slaves of the South, as well as by the white freemen. In such a war, which side will the black slaves of the South take? Will they take the side of their oppressors and enslavers, or of those whom they will believe to be their deliverers? If John Brown's foray threw the South into such a paroxysm of terror, what would an invasion by a Northern army do? But it would not be an invasion at a single point that the South would have to guard against in case of a war between it and the North; it would have to guard its whole line, from the Atlantic to the Rio Grande, both against systematic invasions and predatory incursions; it would have to build a Chinese wall along it all the way, to keep its slaves from running off, and even that would not do it.

But the adage says, a barking dog does not bite. No man who is given to much talking is ever good at fighting. A coward bullies and threatens; a brave man, without noise or bluster, strikes. This is the teaching both of philosophy and experience. And in view of it, and of the continual blatamy and bragging of our Southern friends, there is not much need for us to fret about the safety of the Union. ***

Items Telegraphed from Washington.

Washington, Feb. 5.—A number of Democrats who are here from Kansas have conferred with the Southern Democrats in Congress, and propose to advocate the admission of Kansas into the Union with the Wyandotte Constitution, changing the boundaries so as to include Pike's Peak and that portion of the Territory of Nebraska on the South Platte river, the change to be submitted to the vote of the people of Kansas, and when ratified, they are to be admitted as a State by proclamation of the President.

Hon. Marcus J. Parrott, General Pomeroy, Judge Arny, and other Republicans, who are here from Kansas, insist on the admission of Kansas under the Wyandotte Constitution, without any alteration, that Constitution being already ratified by two-thirds of the citizens of the Territory. The question of population will not be urged, as Judge Pettit, of Kansas, has said he is confident that there is one hundred thousand inhabitants, which comes up fully to the requirements of Mr. English's bill. It is also proposed to resist the organization of any new Territories. They want to attach Dacotah and the region round about to Nebraska, while Utah and the Territories south of Kansas are to be annexed to New Mexico, and to follow its fortunes. To this it is objected, that having secured slavery in New Mexico by law, this immense Territory should not be brought under the same enactment, which might secure it to slavery forever.

From Kansas and Utah.—*Leavenworth, Feb. 4.*—The Territorial Legislature has passed an act incorporating the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express, being a reorganization of the Pike's Peak Express Company, with an increased capital and a wider field of operations.

A bill abolishing slavery has been under consideration, but no definite action has been taken upon it, both branches of the Legislature being principally engaged with local legislation.

Martin F. Conway, the Congressman elect under the Wyandotte Constitution, left some days since for Washington, to appear before the Senate's Harper's Ferry investigating committee.

Judging from the late adoption of the Wyandotte Constitution, the general belief is that the project for enlarging the boundaries of Kansas will be voted down by a large majority.

The news from Salt Lake by yesterday's arrival is unimportant. It was said that considerable uneasiness existed among the heads of "the church," in consequence of the evidences that a large emigration would take place from the Territory in the spring to Pike's Peak and Carson Valley. Brigham Young strongly opposes such emigration.

☞ All letters for the *National Era* must be addressed to Mrs. M. L. Bailey, *National Era, Washington, D. C.*

The Index to Volume XIII of the *Era* is now ready, and will be furnished, free of charge, to any subscriber who may express a desire to have a copy.

To Advertisers.—Business men will find it greatly to their advantage to advertise in the *Era*.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1860.

The Speaker.—The Opposition majority in the House of Representatives succeeded, on Wednesday last, in electing the Hon. William Pennington, of New Jersey, to the office of Speaker, on the forty-fourth ballot. Mr. Pennington is a gentleman of high respectability; he has been Governor of his native State, and filled other posts of distinction, and was offered the position of Governor of Minnesota by Gen. Taylor, which offer he declined. Mr. Pennington always co-operated with the Whig party while that organization existed, and at present is known as a conservative Republican. The Republican party in the House evinced their preference for Mr. Sherman, but we believe that thus far there has been nothing like chagrin manifested at the necessity which has compelled the selection of Mr. Pennington instead. Every confidence is felt that he will discharge his duties faithfully, and acceptably to the friends who have elected him.

Election of Ex-Governor Chase to the Senate.—One of the most gratifying events of the day is the election of Mr. Chase to the United States Senate for six years from the 4th of March, 1861. Mr. C. served in the Senate six years, commencing in 1849, and ending in 1855, during a period of great agitation and discussion upon the slavery question; and it is doing but simple justice to say that he sustained himself with a dignity, ability, and devotion to the cause of freedom, rarely equalled. He took a leading part in the discussion upon the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and his speeches on that subject remain to this day text books for the guidance of the politician and student of history.

His return to the Senate will be a source of rejoicing to the whole Republican party of the country, if, indeed, he is not in the mean time called to fill a higher post, for which his qualifications and character admirably fit him.

Since Mr. Chase has been out of the Senate, he has been twice elected to the office of Governor of Ohio, which position he has filled with eminent ability and usefulness. The people honor and serve themselves when they call such men to the high places of power.

Congressional Items.—The House adjourned over from Monday to Thursday, in order to give time for arranging the Committees, which is always a work of great delicacy and importance. It seems to be understood that Mr. Sherman will be chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, and that Mr. Grow will be at the head of the Territorial Committee. These gentlemen are eminently and peculiarly qualified for the posts to which rumor and public opinion has assigned them. It is stated that the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations was tendered to Mr. Burlingame, of Massachusetts, and that he generously declined in favor of Mr. Corwin, of Ohio. Mr. B. will take the next place under him.

A Hint for the Disunionists.—The disunionists profess to believe that if the South were to withdraw from the Union, the manufactures and commerce of the North would sustain an irreparable loss, and that the Northern Confederacy would become miserably poor, while the prosperity of the South would be unprecedented. Now, for the sake of argument, we may admit that the injury to the North would be as great as the disunionists insist upon; and we will proceed to show how they will be affected by it. They expect to sell their cotton to England, chiefly. But how can England afford to buy cotton and manufacture it, if her greatest market is ruined? The disunion gentry will find, upon examination, that the United States are England's best customers, and it is well known that three-fourths of foreign importations are consumed in the free States. Whatever impairs the prosperity of these States must therefore destroy the manufacturing capabilities of England.

The assumption that the North cannot exist without the South is a silly one, which is refuted by the prosperity of Canada. But, allowing it to be true, and it follows, that the South must suffer as much indirectly, as the North directly, from disunion.

Mr. Giddings Before the Investigating Committee.—The Harper's Ferry Investigating Committee have had Mr. Giddings before it during the past week, but the sum of his evidence only goes to show that he has been a pretty close student of Jefferson's writings, including the Declaration of Independence. He had seen John Brown, and heard him lecture upon slavery, but knew nothing in the world of his Harper's Ferry schemes.

Dr. Howe, of Boston, gave similar testimony. He knew nothing of the Harper's Ferry affair. His testimony goes to substantiate that given by Senator Wilson. The latter gentleman was told by Forbes, that Brown meditated some violent and unlawful proceeding, whereupon, Wilson wrote to Dr. Howe, urging that the Kansas Aid Society should immediately take from him the arms which had been given him to defend the Territory.

The Harper's Ferry Trials.—These trials have been completely dead-locked in consequence of the difficulty of empanelling a jury. It has been found impossible to get together twelve citizens of Jefferson county who have not "formed or expressed an opinion as to the guilt or innocence of the prisoner at the bar," and the court has resorted to the unusual expedient of summoning a panel from Frederick county.

California.—By the overland California mail, which arrived at St. Louis on Monday, we learn that the newly-elected Governor, Latham, has been nominated by the Democratic Legislative caucus for the post of United States Senator, in place of Mr. Broderick. We believe that Mr. Latham is a Southerner, while Mr. Weller is from Ohio, and these facts will explain the cause of Mr. Weller's defeat. California is under the rule of the slavery oligarchy, and she must submit until the Democracy is overthrown. Mr. Broderick was from the North, and his fate is a warning to ambitious Yankees. It is said that Mr. Gwin is to be superseded by Judge Baldwin, a Virginian. This may be doubted, but at most it would only continue the rule of the slave oligarchy in other hands.

The Inconsolable Democracy.—The Sham Democracy are inconsolable on account of the election of Mr. Forney to the office of Clerk of the House. They make merry over the election of Speaker, because he is not the first choice of the Republican party; but Forney they can never forgive. They mourn and anathematize from morning until night.

It is said that Mr. Glossbrenner, the late Sergeant-at-arms, paid to members $331,000 during the last three days of his official term.

INCREASE OF THE SLAVE POPULATION.

We call the attention of our Southern readers to the article on this subject, from the pen of a correspondent. They may deprecate the agitation of the slavery question, if they please, but here is a great fact, which either they or their posterity will be compelled to take cognizance of. The increase of population is a law as little dependent upon the will of rulers as gravitation or fermentation. In vain will the friends of slavery endeavor to hush it up. The evil is upon them, and still grows larger, day by day. In a century, as shown by our correspondent, the South will contain forty millions of negroes. Here is no fancy picture—no goblin born of a diseased imagination—but a frightful reality! Is it a crime to remind the South that population increases in a geometrical ratio? Will the people of that section shut their ears and close their eyes, and denounce us as public enemies, for warning them of the fearful future that lies before them?

In vain will the Southern people flatter themselves that if slavery increases numerically, it will be proportionally extended. There is no ground for such a hope. There are various causes which forbid it. In the first place, there is little prospect of extending the system at all. *Slavery at present is under no necessity of expansion, and there exists no tendency towards it.* Before the era of railroads, the case was otherwise. Then, a few years of slave cultivation served to exhaust the soil, and to compel emigration. But internal improvements have enabled the South to improve its agriculture, and to bring a vast deal of land under cultivation, which without the improvements would be unavailable. The prosperity of the South—its internal development—has been fatal to its expansive tendency. In the first half century of our national existence, as well as during the colonial era, the South expanded faster than the North; and Kentucky and Tennessee were peopled before Ohio. The South not only won these fine Territories from free labor, but came very near seizing Indiana and Illinois. Indeed, slavery did make its way into these Territories, but public virtue was still strong enough to resist, and to hold them to the principles of the ordinance of 1787. Missouri, though far remote from the old slave States—as remote, all things considered, as California was in 1850—fell a prey to the grasping ambition of the slave interest; and but for the famous compromise of 1820, the institution would have taken root in what is now Kansas and Nebraska. That act of restriction, though repealed in 1854, did its work. It held back slavery until the free-labor element in the country, backed by foreign immigration, was able to stay its progress, without the intervention of Government. The first indication of the change in the relative strength of the two forces was given in 1850, when California was made a free State, by the mere preponderance of the free-labor element, and against the unscrupulous intrigues of the politicians of the territory, most of whom were from the South. In 1854, '55, '56, and '57, the superior energy of free labor over slavery made itself manifest, in the Kansas struggle, under circumstances still less favorable; and there remains no longer any danger of carrying the institution into the Territories now belonging to the Union.

The result of this change in the relative strength of free and slave labor has been to cause a remarkable change of position among politicians in regard to the power and duty of Congress. When it was almost a matter of course that every Territory where slavery was tolerated would become a slave State, the North contended that Congress should exclude it; but since it is apparent that slavery can be whipped and driven off the field by free labor, it cannot be denied that many anti-slavery men are growing indifferent about exercising the right of slavery restriction. On the other hand, the "Democratic" or pro-slavery politicians, who formerly boasted that they only asked to be let alone, and that they never asked the Government to protect slavery, now make it an essential plank in their platforms that slavery must be protected in the Territories.

Here, then, is a fact calculated to discourage the hopes of the slavery propagandists. But there is another, equally fatal to their prospects. There is no country south or west of the present boundaries of the slave States which is peculiarly adapted to slavery. Mexico was subject to Spain and to the law of slavery for three centuries, and yet it probably never contained twenty thousand African slaves. It has never produced any staple of first-rate importance, and hence slavery has never taken root. It is probable that, with no obstacle in the way, slavery would gradually diffuse itself over that country, but the slaveholders would first settle up the far better lands in Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas, which still remain untouched in their virgin fertility. But that they will leave better lands behind them, in order to wage a bootless war with free labor, such as they had experience of in Kansas, is highly improbable.

Mexico has in all its more desirable States a large population at the present time, a free population, hostile to slavery; and this, of itself, would be an insuperable obstacle to the introduction of slavery. If we add to it the free-labor immigration which would pour in from the North and from Europe in the event of its annexation, there remains scarcely a possibility that slavery could be introduced. The slaves, as fast as they should be carried to Mexico, would blend with its mixed population on equal terms, and would find ten friends where the master would find one.

There is therefore no probability that slavery will ever go beyond its present limits; and, as our correspondent has shown, the South will in a century contain forty millions of boudmen and free blacks. That their enormous increase will drive out the poor whites, we have no doubt. A State census was taken in South Carolina last year, which exhibited the melancholy fact, that, even in that sparsely-peopled State, the blacks are crowding out the poor whites, and in effect that South Carolina is becoming Africanized. If such consequences flow from slavery where the population is sparse, not numbering more than twenty-five to the square mile, what will they be when it amounts to a hundred, not only in that State, but throughout the Southern country? Is it not evident that the great body of the poor laboring whites must seek homes in the free West?

We have here supposed that slavery will continue until this fearful state of things arrives, when forty millions of slaves shall inhabit the territory where now four millions are felt to be a source of fearful apprehension. But the evil, if no remedy is sought and found, will culminate in ruin long before the end of a century, or even half a century. The moral, economical, social, and political forces, which are pressing upon it from every side, will sweep it away long ere it reaches the frightful proportions which the mere law of population would give to it within that period of time.

But if it were practicable to extend slavery over the whole of Mexico, its effect would be only to double its area; and a quarter of a century, or a little more, would serve to cover its whole surface with slaves, as the South is now covered. So that the enslavement of the whole of Mexico could only postpone the evil day for one generation. But even this alleviation is impracticable, if not impossible, and the South must year by year see the fearful ev

She has ever been and will ever remain loyal to the Union and the Constitution. While yet in the earliest manhood, I put on record my conviction, 'that in all future as in all past circumstances, Ohio will cleave fast to the National Constitution and the National Union, and that her growing energies will on no occasion be more willingly or powerfully put forth than in the support and maintenance of both in unimpaired vigor and strength.' That conviction remains unchanged.

"Nor do I doubt, Mr. President, that the spirit and purpose of Ohio is the spirit and purpose of all the States whose worthy and honored representatives we so gladly greet here to-night.

"We will not surrender the proud title of American citizens. We will not renounce our portion in the glories of the Imperial Republic. We will not madly fling away the most blessed boon of free institutions ever vouchsafed by Heaven by man. We will not prepare for our children, instead of the noble heritage of freedom, prosperity, and peace, which our fathers transmitted to us, a detestable inheritance of despotism, calamity, and civil war.

"No, no—a thousand times, no. We will compose whatever differences have arisen or may arise in the spirit of our fathers. Claiming, patriotically, nothing that we think wrong, we will concede, mutually, whatever we find to be just. Cherishing, above all, with the constant ardor of Washington, 'a cordial and immovable attachment,' to the Federal Union, we will resolve, with the inflexible determination of Jackson, that 'IT MUST BE PRESERVED.'"

The speech of Gov. Chase was enthusiastically received—the Tennesseans, Kentuckians, and Ohioans, seeming to be equally pleased with it.

Yesterday morning, the military accompanied the guests of the State to the cars. Gov. Dennison and the Legislature of Ohio went with them to Cincinnati, via Dayton. After their departure, a dispatch was received from Gov. Morgan, of New York, announcing the passage of a resolution by the New York Legislature, inviting the Legislatures of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio, with the Executive officers of their respective States, to visit Albany. The message, however, was not received until after the guests had departed for their homes. G.

NEW YORK.—The Republican State Committee of New York have called a State Convention at Syracuse on the 18th of April. The committee were unanimously in favor of Mr. Seward for President. Governor Morgan stated that, as Chairman of the National Republican Executive Committee, he had addressed letters to its members, inquiring what was their views in regard to changing the time for the National Convention. Almost without exception, so far as heard from, they were against a change.

A resolution was adopted in favor of the election of delegates to Chicago by the State Convention, in preference to the district system. It is alleged that in this way a harmonious delegation may be obtained. But we apprehend that the district system is best calculated to give expression to the will of the people. We presume that the State Convention will dispose of the question in its own way, regardless of the opinion of the committee. The caucus system should be extended no farther than is absolutely necessary to keep up party organization. When carried beyond this point, it becomes an offensive oligarchy, corrupt and dictorial.

A LETTER FROM NAPOLEON TO THE POPE.—The French commander at Rome, Gen. Guyon, made a formal visit to the Pope on the first of January, during which his Holiness expressed the hope that the Emperor would "admit the oldeness of certain principles which have lately appeared in a pamphlet, which may be called a striking monument of hypocrisy and an ignoble tissue of contradictions." But his hopes were in a few days dissipated by the arrival of a letter from Napoleon, in which he substantially repeats the views of the obnoxious pamphlet. He is full of professions of reverence, and, with the greatest desire in the world to uphold the temporal power of the Pope, he feels the necessity of yielding to fate.. He calls upon the Holy Father to make a surrender of his revolted provinces on the altar of peace, and says that the Powers of Europe will guaranty him in the possession of what remains.

The People's party of Delaware are discussing the propriety of sending delegates to the Chicago Convention. They have the opportunity to redeem the State from thraldom to the slave Democracy, and they will regret it, if they suffer the opportunity to pass unimproved.

SERENADE.—The Speaker, Mr. Pennington, was serenaded at Willard's, on Thursday evening last. A large number of persons were present, and speeches were made by that gentleman, by Mr. Sherman, Mr. Burlingame, and others.

METHODISM IN THE UNITED STATES.—The Methodists embrace the largest number of Christians of any one denomination in America. From the *Christian Advocate and Journal* we learn that their numbers are as follows:

Methodist Episcopal Church, (North,) exclusive of Foreign German and Liberia Conference	954,918
Methodist Episcopal Church South	700,000
American Wesleyan Methodist	21,000
Methodist Protestant Church	70,000
African Methodist Episcopal Church	20,000
African Meth. Episcopal Zion Church	6,203
Evangelical Association	40,000
United Brethren in Christ	82,013
Minor Divisions	10,000
Total	1,923,134

These figures only embrace the communicants or active professors of religion. If the families which sympathize with the Methodists be included, which is the mode of enumerating the Catholics and some other denominations, the total number of Methodists would be perhaps seven or eight millions. The Baptists come next in numerical strength.

LETTER FROM CHINA.

CANTON, *Nov.* 11, 1859.

To the Editor of the National Era:

In my former letters I gave you some account of the coolie trade, as it is conducted by the Spanish and Portuguese, who employ the largest and finest American ships to transport the "free emigrants" to Cuba. New facts are constantly becoming known, which illustrate the fiendish character of the business. The American consular agent at Whampoa is aware of the plans used to deceive and entrap the ignorant and unwary, and he has been the means of landing over to the mandarins five of the Chinese coolie brokers who were caught in the act of forcing men on board the ships. Yesterday, eighteen men were beheaded at the execution ground. They were accused of kidnapping. It is said that there are several more in prison who are to be starved to death.

Since my former letters were written, a plan for taking coolies to the West Indies has been made public, which promises to be conducted in a humane and honorable manner, and I look upon it as one which is to have a powerful influence upon the relations of labor and capital in the West Indies, and also in the Southern States of America. If it proves to be practicable, then a way is opened up, by which the Southern States may supply the deficiency of laborers with a class of men who are far superior to the negroes, both in intellect and in their physical powers.

I will give an outline of the plan proposed by the British Government, and I have no doubt you and your readers, who take an interest in everything that concerns the suffering poor, will agree with me, that justice and humanity are manifest in every arrangement; and that, if it proves to be practicable, its influence will be felt thoughout the world.

Some time since, Mr. Austin, an agent of the British Government, arrived here, and, through the British and French authorities here, an arrangement was made with the Governor General of this Province, to recognise and approve of the plan prooosed; and a proclamation was issued by the Governor General, announcing the fact that a Chinese mandarin was associated with Mr. Austin in managing the business. A large hong has been rented in the Western suburbs of this city, in which Mr. Austin will reside, and where all the business will be transacted. A paper stating the terms on which coolies are taken is printed and put up in all parts of the city. I take from this paper the following outline of the proposals:

Article 1st states "that in the English West Indies there are no slaves; that all are entitled to the protection of the law; that officers are appointed to protect laborers, and that all are allowed to enjoy their own religion."

Article 2d states "that the West Indies are very much like the province of Canton in climate and productions."

Article 3d states, "those who willingly go, and who are accepted, will enter into a contract to labor for five years. Twenty dollars, for an outfit, will be loaned to each one, which is to be paid back. The passage money, $75, will be paid, and clothes and food for the voyage found. If the coolie labors the full term of five years, then the passage-money is not to be paid back."

Article 4th states "that the wages are fixed in the contract at $4 per month; but if at any time the coolie can get higher wages, the contract can be changed. If he wishes to return home, or go elsewhere to labor, then the passage-money must be paid back within the five years. In addition to wages, he is provided with food, a house, and small garden. In sickness, no charge is made for medicine. Seven and one-half hours are the fixed time for labor each day. The rest of the time is his own. If the contract is changed, and higher wages given, then he must provide for himself."

Article 5th provides for paying a portion of the wages to parents or friends in China. If a man wishes to take his wife and children, their passage will be paid, $20 allowed the wife for outfit, and $5 for each child. These are not to be paid back. Houses will be provided for them, and free schools for the children.

Article 6th provides for sending letters back and forth without charge.

Article 7th states "that those who wish to go, and are accepted, shall give their names, residence, age, &c., &c., to the managing officer, and they can then return home, or stay in the officer's hong until the ship sails."

Article 8th states "that the hong for receiving coolies will be open at all times, but that certain rules for order and cleanliness must be observed. The coolies can go and come, as they choose. Two days before sailing, the English and Chinese officers will go on board the ship, and examine the accommodations, provisions, &c. The contracts will then be signed."

Article 9th states that "after going on board the ship, the coolies will not be allowed to return to the shore again."

Article 10th states "that all who wish are supplied with papers stating the proposals, and that they are circulated by the mandarins to prevent deception."

Article 11th states that "the English and Chinese officers are at all times ready to hear any complaint from any of the coolies."

As to the practicability of this scheme, I have no opinion to offer. This must be tested by time. It must have been well considered, before the British Government would authorize the arrangements which it has caused to be made.

What will be the effect on the present system of kidnapping? If the Spanish Government does not authorize a plan similar to that of the English, kidnapping must increase; for those who are willing to go, will take the better offer of the British, and then the coolie prisons in Macao, and the first-class American clippers employed by the Spaniards, must be filled with those who have been cheated or stolen from their homes. Is there not virtue enough in our rulers to save our flag from the foul stain with which it is being blighted? K.

FROM EUROPE.

Halifax, Feb. 2.—The royal mail steamship America, which left Liverpool at 2½ P. M. of the 14th inst. and Queenstown the following day, arrived here at one o'clock this afternoon. She will be due at Boston on Saturday morning.

The European Congress.—The object of Lord Cowley's mission to London was to resume the negotiations between England and France, which were instituted by the former and interrupted by Count Walewski's opposition. The principle of these negotiations was non-intervention in the affairs of Central Italy. France, adopting the same basis, is desirous that the whole of Europe should give its formal assent to the principle; with this view, Lord Cowley was solicited to sound the feeling of the British Cabinet as to the advisability of addressing a collective note to the European Cabinets. In this note, an infraction of the principle of non-intervention was to be treated as a *casus belli*. The British Cabinet, while expressing its readiness to support the principle of non-intervention, either at the Congress or in its communication with the foreign Powers, pointed out the impossibility of pledging itself without the consent of Parliament to a course of policy which might possibly involve hostilities. The feeling of the Northern Courts gave rise to some fear that Europe would not tacitly submit to so threatening an intimation, and which also implied the adoption of principles opposed to the independence of every State which possesses the right of forming alliances as it may think proper, and at its own risk and peril.

The British Cabinet having thus declined the propositions to enter into engagements having such an important bearing, the question of an early meeting of the Congress is again revived.

General News.—There was a doubtful rumor that the Emperor of Austria has invited Russia and Prussia to defend the legitimate rights of monarchs.

At the latest accounts, the Spanish army was near Tetuan—the position of the army being unchanged.

Reports are current and believed in Paris that an agreement has been made between France and England for the reciprocal import of English iron and coal and French wines.

The Paris correspondent of the *Post* reports that the papal Nuncio has said the Pope will give up the Romagna, provided the rest of his dominions be secured to him.

Cardinal Antonelli's reported resignation was not confirmed.

It was rumored that Garibaldi had gone to Sicily.

The London *Times* editorially criticises the financial statement of the American Government, and points out that, allowing for the youth of one State and the maturity of the other, there is the strongest possible analogy between the respective proceedings of England and America.

In another article, the same journal expatiates on Mexican affairs, in connection with the President's message. It says there is not a question but what the Americans, if they so please, can march to Mexico—nor is it to be doubted that their advance would be attended with at least the temporary benefit of tranquility. Saving British interest, we should look on such a proceeding with the least dissatisfaction; but if Mr. Buchanan's description of Mexico is a faithful picture, it will require far more than one casual intervention to restore the country to the rank of an organized State.

A stormy meeting of the Great Ship Company had been held in London. A report was presented, showing the position of the Company, and announcing the resignation of the Board. A motion to receive the report was followed by an ameudment, that before doing so, a committee of investigation be appointed. After a warm discussion, it was resolved to decide the question by ballot. The result of this ballot was expected to be made known on the day the America sailed. The meeting stood adjourned till the 17th.

A Captain Walker, stated to be the captain of the slaver Wanderer, and who recently arrived in Liverpool under extraordinary circumstances, was under arrest in that place, charged with having conspired with others to obtain money by false pretences. The evidence before the magistrate showed that Walker was treating for the purchase of a ship for a slave expedition.

Edmund Lane and George Hines, first and second mates of the ship Anna, of New York, were under arrest in London, charged with having murdered several colored seamen, during the voyage from Laguna to England.

India and China.—The Calcutta mail of December 10, and the Hong Kong mail of November 27, had reached England.

The Government dispatch from Oude confirms the complete overthrow and dispersion of the remainder of the rebel army. All the leading rebels had been taken, except the Begum, and she could not hold out alone.

The salt tax was to be increased one shilling on the eighty pounds, adding nearly a million sterling to the revenue.

The Chinese were reported to be making great warlike preparations.

The Bombay telegram of the 27th of December, via Aden, reports the campaign against the rebels in Nepaul as all over. The rebels have all surrendered, except the Begum.

It was said the Chinese had addressed a demand to Russia, to evacuate all the country of the Amoor.

The *Times*, in a leader on the Italian question, says it is now announced, almost in official language, that England and France have fully agreed to recognise and protect the Central Italian States, and it rejoices at the liberal course pursued by Napoleon.

M. Villamarina is publishing a pamphlet in which he advocates the temporal rights of the Pope.

At Vienna, it is fully believed that the Government intends, openly and actively, to interfere in Central Italy in favor of the exiled Dukes and Papal Government. The Pastoral of the Archbishop, published in the *Wiener Zeitung*, on the 11th, confirms this fear.

The *Univers* announces that the Bishop of Perignan is about to publish a pamphlet in answer to the Pope and the Congress.

London, Saturday Evening.—The funds today are firm at the closing prices of yesterday. In the share market there is scarcely a single feature of interest. The railroad share market is inactive, but prices are steady.

Paris, Saturday.—The *Pays* this evening, says: "Should our information be correct, the state of affairs is daily improving, not only as regards the relations of the French Government with the Holy See, but also in reference to those of England, which are continually becoming more intimate.

The Vienna *Gazette* has published an Imperial decree, enacting that the testimony of Jews, in future, shall be regarded of the same value as that of Christians. The measure is considered preliminary to according them full civil and political rights.

The Diet of Denmark has decided, by a large majority, that the bill for the separation of Church and State shall be read a second time.

The *Independence Belge* retracts the statement that Prince Metternich had left for Vienna.

FOUR DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

The steamer North American arrived at Portland on Saturday, and the City of Baltimore at New York, both having sailed from Liverpool on the 18th, and Queenstown on the 19th ult.

The European Congress.—The announcement that Lord Cowley had returned to Paris was premature. He did not arrive there till the 17th. On his arrival, he had a long audience with the Emperor. A telegram on the subject says the Emperor requested Lord Cowley to declare to the English Cabinet that, although desiring an intimate understanding with England on the basis of non-intervention, it was to be understood that he always considered himself bound by the engagements of Villafranca and the treaties of Zurich.

This reserve was maintained during the last negotiations between France and England. The assembling of a Congress is therefore still possible, its programme being founded on the treaties of Zurich. The Cabinet of the Tuileries has formally resumed the negotiations concerning the Congress, and has, by telegraph, informed the northern Courts of the desire of the Emperor.

Great Britain.—The two mates of the American barque Anna, previously reported under arrest upon a charge of having caused the death of six colored seamen by brutal treatment, had been brought up for examination before the magistrates at Newport, Isle of Wight. Evidence of great cruelty was adduced, but it was asserted for the defence that the men died from the effects of yellow fever, which had prevailed on board the vessel. The American Minister having sent a protest against the jurisdiction of the court, the magistrate had to dismiss the charge. This protest was accompanied with the request that the magistrates would detain the defendants until the matter could be inquired into by the American consul, so that they might be remitted to their own country. Under the extradition treaty, the magistrates considered that they could not hold the accused without a formal requisition, and they were accordingly discharged. The mates had to be conveyed to their ship, under the protection of the police, for fear of the fury of the mob. The London *Times* has a strong editorial on the case, in which it says: "These crimes, for which the American merchant service has become justly infamous, demand the serious attention of a civilized people."

Another case of cruelty, on board the American ship Wizard King, which resulted in the death of the victim, had undergone an investigation before the coroner in London. The jury, in their verdict, state exhaustion to have been the cause of the death, but at the same time charge the officers of the vessel with gross and cruel neglect.

France.—Napoleon has addressed a most important free-trade manifesto to Fould, Minister of State; it is dated the 5th of January, and published in the *Moniteur* of the 15th.

The letter sums up the intended reforms, viz: Suppression of duty on wool and cotton, successive reduction of dues on sugar and coffee, vigorous improvement of the means of communication, reduction of the canal dues by a general lowering of transport costs, loans to be granted to agriculture and industry, considerable works of pucic utility, suppression of the prohibition in customs and commercial treaties with foreign Powers.

The 160,000,000 of francs remaining disposable from the last loan will be applied in three yearly credits to the execution of great public works. The Emperor concludes: "I am convinced that I shall obtain the support of the Senate and Legislative body to these reforms. I am anxious to inaugurate with them a new era of peace, and to insure its blessings to France."

The letter attracted great attention. With scarcely any exception, the Paris press applaud the object, and in England it gives great satisfaction.

Belgium.—The Belgium Government has decided on sending an expeditionary force to China, to act in concert with the Anglo-French expedition, with the view of establishing a Belgian colony in China for commercial purposes.

A royal decree authorizes a loan of forty-five million francs.

Switzerland.—The Swiss Federal Council had ordered a pamphlet of Mazzini's, printed at Lugano, to be seized, and had expelled the foreigners who participated in its publication.

Spain and Morocco.—The division Rios of the Spanish army had landed without opposition on the banks of the river Tetuan.

La Nord states that on the 10th of January the Spanish Government paid into the hands of the British Minister at Madrid the sum due to the British Government, about ten and a half million francs.

A Madrid telegram of the 15th announces that the Spaniards in Morocco were masters of all the positions of Cabo Legro. After having obtained a complete victory, they were commanding all the heights of the valley of Tetuan, and would be before Tetuan as soon as the artillery was able to pass.

Late advices from Mogador state that 60,000 men, the pick of the Moorish army, were encamped on the hills beyond Mogador, ready for action. The Moors are said to have taken in all 600 Spanish prisoners.

Italy.—The King of Sardinia was expected to visit Milan in the beginning of February.

The commissioners to trace the frontiers between Austria and Piedmont had commenced their work.

The King of Sardinia had accepted the resignation of the Ministry, and had charged Count Cavour with the formation of a new Cabinet.

It is said that great agitation prevailed in the Marches, and that Bologna was to be fortified.

Some riotous demonstrations had taken place at Parma, the mob calling out for a reduction in the price of bread, and the recall of Garibaldi. Force was required to restore order.

Prussia.—In the Chamber of Deputies, the Minister of Commerce had announced that he was about to propose the abolition of the laws against usury. The statement caused a sensation among the deputies.

Austria.—Letters from Vienna fully confirm the assertion that Austria has abandoned all idea of renewing the war in Italy.

It is stated, however, that the Cabinet of Vienna will make a protest on account of the non-fulfilment of the Villafranca agreement relative to the restoration of the Grand Dukes, which will be forwarded to all the European Courts as well as to Paris.

The Austro-Sardinian commission for the regulation of the boundary line has already held three meetings. The Austrian customs officers have been reinforced by military, in order to avert provocation from the other side of the frontiers.

STILL LATER FROM EUROPE.

New York, Feb. 5.—The steamer Asia, with Liverpool advices of the 21st ult., three days later than the advices per steamers City of Baltimore and North American, arrived here this evening.

The steamers Arago and Glasgow had arrived out.

It is denied that the French Government intends to proceed against the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.

Napoleon's free-trade programme had been received very favorably in the French departments.

A commercial treaty between France and England was expected to be signed in a few days.

The following French diplomatic changes are announced: M. Barret goes from Madrid to Constantinople; the Duke Grammont goes from Rome to Madrid; and the Prince Latour Dauvergne goes to Rome.

The Paris Bourse closed firmer; rentes 69f.

The English news is unimportant.

It is said that the Ministerial reform measures are ready for the meetings of Parliament.

The Sardinian Ministry has not been officially announced. It is said that Count Cavour will certainly have the Foreign Department, and Count Fanti that of War.

A conspiracy in favor of the Grand Duke is said to have been discovered in Florence.

The position of affairs between Morocco and Spain is unchanged.

The relations between Austria and Russia are reported as growing more intimate.

England.—James Smith, the sailor on board the American ship George West, who stabbed the mate of that vessel on the passage from New Orleans, has been delivered up under the extradition treaty to the American consul at Liverpool.

France.—With regard to Napoleon's free-trade programme, he is represented to have said, in reply to certain observations, that "the manufacturers, who exist solely because they are protected, have been aware of my intentions for five years, and have had plenty of time to prepare for the change. The system of prohibitions has had its day, and I have not the power to raise the dead."

The London *Herald's* Paris correspondent reiterates the previous statement, that a portion of the French Imperial Guards have received their camping equipage, and that the regiments quartered at Versailles are ready to march at a moment's notice for Italy, as their officers believe.

Italy.—A solemn reconciliation is reported to have taken place between Cardinal Antonelli and the prelates who have hitherto been opposed to him.

Le Nord says the Emperor of Russia is about to espouse the cause of the Pope, but the London *Times* denies it.

Liverpool Cotton Market.—All qualities advanced ⅛d.

Liverpool Breadstuffs Market. — Messrs. Richardson, Spence, & Co., quote: Flour is steady at 23s. @ 26s. 6d. Wheat is quiet at Tuesday's decline. Red, 9s. 6d. @ 9s. 10d.; white, 9s. 10d. @ 12s. 5d. Corn has a declining tendency. Prices are 3s. 6d. lower. Yellow, 30s. 6d. @ 31s. 9d.

Liverpool Provision Market.—Beef steady. Pork quiet. Bacon is steady at 48s. @ 51s. for middles. Lard is steady, and in more demand; sales at 56s. @ 58s.

London, Saturday morning.—The produce markets are uninfluenced by the contemplated changes in the French tariff.

The Bombay mail of December 27 has arrived. The Bombay journals say the rebel force is utterly annihilated.

The London *Star* thinks that probably the commercial treaty negotiating between England and France will be signed before the delivery of the Queen's speech. The *Herald* believes the treaty is already signed, and will come into immediate operation.

It is reported that the Archbishop of Paris has resigned his seat in the Council of the Empire. His resignation is expected to give a more determined attitude to the clerical opposition to the Emperor's anti-Papal policy.

THIRTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, First Session.

Tuesday, January 31, 1860.

SENATE.

The Vice President laid before the Senate a communication from the Commissioner of Patents, made in obedience to law, showing the operations of that office during the year 1859.

Mr. Rice presented resolutions of the Legislature of Minnesota, instructing their Senators and requesting their Representatives to use their votes and influence in favor of the passage of a homestead bill; which were read, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

Several other memorials and petitions were presented and referred.

Reports were made from sundry committees.

The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of the special order, being the resolution offered by Mr. Douglas, instructing the Committee on Territories to bring in a bill to protect the several States and Territories from invasions, &c.

Mr. Hunter rose and addressed the Senate at some length, and was listened to with marked attention throughout; when he had closed,

Mr. Green thought it probable that other Senators might feel induced to address the Senate upon the subject, and he would therefore move that it lie on the table, to be called up when any Senator might choose to do so; which was agreed to.

Mr. Gwin wished to go into Executive session; but a motion by Mr. Green that the Senate adjourn prevailed, and the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE.

The House met at twelve o'clock. The galleries were again crowded to their utmost limit. A prayer was offered, and the Journal of yesterday was read.

The Clerk said the pending question was on the point of order, raised by the gentleman from Iowa, [Mr. Curtis,] in relation to the effect of the previous question.

Mr. Stanton, of Ohio, moved that there be a call of the House; which was agreed to.

The roll of the House was called, and it was found that Messrs. Brown of Kentucky, C. B. Cochrane of New York, Kunkel of Maryland, Sickles of New York, Simms of Kentucky, and Stallworth of Alabama, were absent without being paired off.

Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, moved that the House proceed to vote *viva voce* for Speaker, and upon that he called for the previous question.

Some dilatory motions were resorted to on the Democratic side, till all the absent members, except Messrs. Clark B. Cochrane of New York, Brown of Kentucky, and Stallworth of Alabama, had appeared in the Hall.

The motion to proceed to vote was then agreed to.

Mr. Smith, of North Carolina. I cannot find language, sir, adequate to convey to members of this body my deep sense of obligation to honorable gentlemen of various political opinions and sentiments for the honor which they have endeavored to confer upon me by placing me in that chair, and intrusting me with the high and important responsibility of presiding over the deliberations of this body. When I recollect, sir, how much of sacrifice must have been incurred, how much gentlemen have given up in the patriotic effort to concentrate the votes of this House upon some individual that stood upon national and properly conservative ground; and when I remember also, sir, that I myself, with a name unknown to fame, now making my entry upon this floor for the first time, have received the honor of so large and honorable a vote as has been conferred upon me, I can only say, sir, that I shall cherish during the residue of my official term, while a member of this body, and carry with me into the shades of private life, when my public service is ended, a grateful and abiding sense of those deep obligations under which gentlemen have placed me. But, sir, without intending now, since it is not the proper occasion, to go into any matters of detail, I will here take the liberty of saying that I am satisfied that the presentation of my name longer before this body would not contribute towards the success of the wishes of those gentlemen who have so cordially and steadily sustained me. I beg leave now, sir, before another ballot is taken, to withdraw my name as a candidate before this body, and to say that I hope that the indications which are now presenting themselves in this body may be the harbingers of returning good will among all the States of this Confederacy, and that we may, in the preservation of an intact and inviolate Constitution, find a guaranty of the rights of every part of our Confederacy, and our glorious and blessed Union be perpetuated to the remotest period of time. [Applause.]

Mr. Reagan, of Texas, addressed the House briefly, and concluded by nominating Mr. McClernand, of Illinois, (Douglas Democrat.)

Mr. Hill, of Georgia, said the Americans had, on Friday last, nominated Mr. Smith, of North Carolina, because they understood he would be more acceptable to the Democrats than any other member of the Southern Opposition party. He thought, when Mr. Smith declined, the Democrats, in nominating a candidate on whom to invite a concentration, ought to have consulted the Americans; but so far as he knew, they had not done so. For his part, he could not vote for any one entertaining the doctrine of popular sovereignty, as applied to the Territories.

Mr. Etheridge, of Tennessee, regarded the result of the vote about to be taken as a foregone conclusion. Whenever he made up his mind to vote for a Democrat, he had been unable to discover any remarkable difference between gentlemen on that side of the House. They had a right to present their own candidate, and those gentlemen who placed themselves in a position to be used by the Democratic party ought not to make any protest.

The Democrats of his district believed that Senator Douglas had been consistent, and that the position he occupies to-day was a logical necessity, growing out of the step he took in 1854, in becoming the leader of that legislative misfortune which ended in the repeal of the Missouri compromise. It was due to him to say, that he never avoided the responsibility or sought to cloak the consequences of that act. He knew, further, that all this parade of disaffection towards Senator Douglas at the South meant nothing, and that, outside of the postmasters, newspaper editors, and active politicians of the party, it had no existence. When, on his birthday, in April next, Senator Douglas should receive the Democratic nomination for President at Charleston, they would not find twenty Democrats in his (Mr. E.'s) district who were not original Douglas men.

He will willing to yield to the persuasion of apparent necessity, but he did insist that those gentlemen from the Southern Opposition who had been receiving the compliment of Northern Democratic votes ought not to be particular in returning the compliment. They knew how hard it came, and how some of them sweat, as it were, great drops of blood. If any artist wished to depict unutterable agonies, he would only have to portray the features of some of those Northwestern Democrats while voting for the gentleman from North Carolina. [Laughter.]

Further remarks were made by Messrs. John Cochrane, Hill, Millson, Vallandigham, Moorhead, and Clark of Missouri.

The House then proceeded to the forty-third vote for Speaker, with the following result:

Whole number of votes cast, 233. Necessary to a choice, 117.

Mr. Pennington	116
Mr. McClernand	91
Scattering	26

On this ballot, Mr. Pennington received, in addition to the votes cast for him on Monday, the vote of Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland. When Mr. Davis responded to his name by voting for Mr. Pennington, there was much applause in the galleries, as well as some demonstrations on the Republican side of the House.

Mr. McClernand received the votes of the following Americans:

Messrs. Boteler, Bouligny, Briggs, Bristow, Maynard, Smith of N. C., and Vance.

Several other Americans, however, when their names were called, announced their readiness to vote for Mr. McClernand, whenever the Democratic vote should be united upon him.

On the calling of his name,

Mr. Smith, of North Carolina, said Mr. McClernand gave him a ready and prompt support; and though not approving of his Territorial policy, he would not be outdone by him in generosity. He voted cheerfully for Mr. McClernand.

Owing to the great number of speeches made by members in explanation of the votes they were about to cast, much time was consumed in this ballot.

After the roll was called through, Mr. Ashmore, of South Carolina, and Mr. Simms, of Kentucky, each made an earnest appeal to the Democrats and Americans, who had withheld their votes from Mr. McClernand, to change them in his favor, but a few members only responded to the appeals by changing their votes.

Mr. Sherman moved that the House proceed to another ballot, and demanded the previous question.

The Democratic side, amid great confusion, insisted on an adjournment, which the Republican side appeared determined to resist.

It was announced by several members on the Democratic side, that another vote would not be permitted to-day.

Mr. Kellogg, of Illinois, proposed that the Republicans consent to an adjournment, if the other side would agree to vote without delay to-morrow, after a call of the House. This was finally agreed to; and,

At 20 minutes past 4 o'clock the House adjourned.

Wednesday, February 1, 1860.

SENATE.

The Vice President presented a communication from the Department of State, transmitting a statement of the fees received by consular officers of the United States for the year 1858; which was read.

On motion by Mr. Clay, a resolution was adopted, calling on the President of the United States for further information in regard to the contracts, &c., in relation to heating and ventilating the Capitol and Post Office extension.

On motion by Mr. Hale, a resolution was adopted, instructing the Committee on Military Affairs to inquire into the expediency of paying the officers of the army and marine corps each a gross sum per annum, in lieu of their present allowances and commutations.

On motion of Mr. Bright, resolutions were adopted, instructing the Commissioner of Public Buildings to inquire whether any doubt as to the stability and safety of the work of the dome of the Capitol has caused its slow progress; whether any changes have been made in the plans for the same, the amount already expended, and whether it is expedient to arrest the continuation of the work, &c.

Mr. Green introduced a bill, granting to James M. Hughes and John J. Mudd the right of way through the public lands to construct a line of telegraph from Missouri, Arkansas, or Texas, to Los Angeles, California. This bill proposes to give five sections of land for each fifty miles of telegraph constructed.

The special order was taken up, but, in consequence of the absence of Mr. Douglas, to whom Mr. Fitch wished to allude in his speech, the subject was postponed until to-morrow, when Mr. Fitch will address the Senate.

The Senate then held a short Executive session, and adjourned at a quarter before two o'clock, having been in session only three-quarters of an hour.

HOUSE.

The proceedings to-day were opened with prayer by Rabbi Raphael, a Jewish priest. His prayer abounded in fervently-expressed patriotic and pious sentiments. He implored the Divine blessing to direct the House in the election of a Speaker who may preside without favor and fear; and that the members might speak and act for the glory and happiness of their common country. He was listened to with marked attention.

The Clerk having stated that the question pending was the motion of Mr. Sherman, that the House proceed to vote for Speaker—

The motion that the House proceed to vote for Speaker was then passed, and the Clerk proceeded to call the roll.

After various attempts upon the Democratic side to delay further proceedings,

The result of the vote was declared, as follows:

For Mr. Pennington—Messrs. Adams of Massachusetts, Adrain, Aldrich, Alley, Ashley, Babbitt, Beale, Bingham, Blair, Blake, Brayton, Briggs, Buffinton, Burlingame, Burnham, Burroughs, Butterfield, Campbell, Carey, Carter, Case, Colfax, Conkling, Corwin, Covode, Curtis, Davis of Maryland, Dawes, Delano, Duell, Dunn, Edgerton, Edwards, Eliot, Ely, Farnsworth, Fenton, Ferry, Foster, Frank, French, Gooch, Graham, Grow, Gurley, Hale, Hall, Haskin, Helmick, Hickman, Hoard, Humphrey, Hutchins, Irvine, Junkin, Kellogg of Michigan, Kellogg of Illinois, Kenyon, Kilgore, Killinger, Leach of Michigan, Lee, Longnecker, Loomis, Lovejoy, Marston, McKean, McKnight, McPherson, Millward, Moorhead, Morrill, Morris of Pennsylvania, Morse, Nixon, Olin, Palmer, Perry, Pettit, Porter, Potter, Pottle, Reynolds, Rice, Robinson of Rhode Island, Royce, Schwartz, Scranton, Sedgwick, Sherman, Somes, Spaulding, Spinner, Stanton, Stevens, Stewart of Pennsylvania, Stratton, Tappan, Thayer, Theaker, Tompkins, Train, Trimble, Vandever, Van Wyck, Verree, Wade, Waldron, Walton, Washburn of Wisconsin, Washburne of Illinois, Washburn of Maine, Wells, Wilson, Windom, Wood, and Woodruff—117.

For Mr. McClernand—Messrs. Allen, Anderson of Missouri, Ashmore, Avery, Barksdale, Barr, Barrett, Bocock, Bouligny, Branch, Burch, Burnett, Clark of New York, Clark of Missouri, Clemens, Cobb, John Cochrane, Cooper, Cox, Craig of Missouri, Craige of North Carolina, Crawford, Davidson, Davis of Indiana, Davis of Mississippi, Dejarnette, Dimmick, Edmundson, English, Florence, Fouke, Garnett, Gartrell, Hamilton, Harris of Virginia, Hawkins, Hindman, Holman, Houston, Howard, Hughes, Jackson, Jenkins, Jones, Kunkel, Lamar, Landrum, Larrabee, Leake, Logan, Love, Maclay, Martin of Ohio, Martin of Virginia, McRae, Milson, Montgomery, Morris of Illinois, Niblack, Noell, Pendleton, Peyton, Phelps, Pryor, Reagan, Riggs, Robinson of Illinois, Ruffin, Rust, Scott, Sickles, Simms, Singleton, Smith of Virginia, Stevenson, Stewart of Maryland, Stout, Taylor, Thomas, Underwood, Vallandigham, Whiteley, Winslow, Woodson, and Wright—85.

For Mr. Gilmer—Messrs. Adams of Kentucky, Anderson of Kentucky, Brabson, Bristow, Etheridge, Harris of Maryland, Hatton, Hill, Leach of North Carolina, Mallory, Moore of Kentucky, Nelson, Quarles, Smith of North Carolina, Stokes, and Webster—16.

For Mr. Smith, of North Carolina—Messrs. Boteler, Hardeman, Maynard, and Vance—4.

For Mr. Crawford—Messrs. Clopton, Curry, McQueen, and Pugh—4.

For Mr. McQueen—Messrs. Bonham and Miles—2.

For Mr. Stevens—Mr. Boyce—1.

For Mr. Etheridge—Mr. Gilmer—1.

For Mr. Mills—Mr. Keitt—1.

For Mr. Houston—Mr. McClernand—1.

For Mr. Boyce—Mr. Moore of Alabama—1.

The whole number of votes was 233; necessary to a choice 117. And William Pennington, of New Jersey, having received a majority of all the votes cast, was declared duly elected Speaker of the Thirty-sixth Congress.

The announcement was received with vigorous applause in the galleries.

Mr. Hindman, of Arkansas. I desire to call the attention of this House and of the country to the fact that the Black Republican Speaker—

[Shouts of "order, order."]

Mr. Adrain, of New Jersey, protested against the employment of such language.

Mr. Hindman. Has been elected by the votes—

[Renewed shouts of "order," and great confusion.]

Mr. Noell, of Missouri, hoped the gentleman would be allowed to proceed.

Mr. Hindman. I desire to be heard upon the point of order. Now, what point of order is raised?

Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania. I will state the point of order. It is, that a Speaker has just been elected by the House, and until he is conducted to the chair, nothing else is and nothing can be in order.

The Clerk said the only thing in order, and the first thing in order, was to conduct the Speaker just elected to the chair. He had no power to preserve order, and until the Speaker was conducted to the chair, there was no presiding officer.

Mr. Hindman. I simply desire to say, Mr. Clerk—

[Shouts of "order, order!"]

Address of the Speaker.—The Clerk appointed Mr. Bocock, of Virginia, and Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, a committee to conduct the Speaker to the chair.

And the committee having performed that duty—

Mr. Pennington, the Speaker elect, proceeded in a few appropriate remarks to thank the House for the unexpected honor conferred upon him, and to pledge himself to a faithful performance of the arduous duties of the station.

The oath of office was administered to the Speaker by Mr. Phelps, of Missouri, the oldest member by consecutive service.

The roll of members was then called by States, and the oath of office was administered by the Speaker to the members present.

The Rules of the House.—Mr. Washburn, of Maine, offered the following resolutions, and moved the previous question on their adoption:

Resolved, That the rules of the House of Representatives of the Thirty-fifth Congress shall be the rules of the House of Representatives until otherwise ordered.

Resolved, That a committee of five, consisting of the Speaker and four members, to be named by him, be appointed, to whom shall be referred the rules of the House, and who shall have leave to report at any time such amendments and revision of the same as they shall think proper; and such report, when made, shall be considered by the House as a special order.

After some disorderly discussion, the resolution was passed.

The House became very boisterous and disorderly, numerous members being up at the same time, crying "Mr. Speaker," and almost every member apparently calling for "order."

Mr. Fenton, of New York, offered the following resolution, and called for the previous question upon its adoption:

Resolved, That a message be sent to the Senate, to inform that body that a quorum of the House has assembled, and that William Pennington, a Representative from the State of New Jersey, has been chosen Speaker of the House.

Whether this resolution was passed or not, it was impossible to ascertain, amid the confusion.

At length, Mr.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Territorial Slave Code.

SPEECH OF HON. HENRY WILSON,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

JANUARY 25, 1860.

The Senate proceeded to consider the following resolutions, submitted by Mr. BROWN on the 18th instant:

Resolved, That the Territories are the common property of all the States, and that it is the privilege of the citizens of all the States to go into the Territories with every kind or description of property recognized by the Constitution of the United States, and held under the laws of any of the States; and that it is the constitutional duty of the law-making power, wherever lodged or by whomsoever exercised, whether by the Congress or the Territorial Legislature, to enact such laws as may be found necessary for the adequate and sufficient protection of such property.

Resolved, That the Committee on Territories be instructed to insert, in any bill they may report for the organization of new Territories, a clause declaring it to be the duty of the Territorial Legislature to enact adequate and sufficient laws for the protection of all kinds of property, as above described, within the limits of the Territory; and that, upon its failure or refusal to do so, it is the admitted duty of Congress to interfere and pass such laws.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, when the Republic entered the family of nations, it proclaimed to kings and princes, to nobles and privileged classes, to toiling freemen and lowly bondmen, the equality of man. Passing now through the eighty-fourth year of national life, America presents to the gaze of nations the humiliating and saddening spectacle of a Republic which began its independent existence by the promulgation of a bill of rights as old as creation and as wide as humanity, distracted by discordant and angry discussions upon issues growing out of the bondage of four million men.

Slavery in America—our connections with it, and relations to it, the obligations these connections and relations impose upon us as men, as citizens of the States and of the United States—make the issues of the age, the transcendent magnitude of which command the profoundest attention of the country. In the crowded city and on the lonely dwelling, the public press and the judicial tribunal, the hall of legislation and the temple of the living God—everywhere—goes on the "irrepressible conflict" between the sublime creed of the charter of independence and the aggressive spirit of slavery; between the institutions of freedom our fathers founded and the system of human bondage which now darkens the land, casting its baleful shadows over the Republic, obscuring its lustre, and marring its symmetry and beauty.

Within fifteen States of this democratic Republic, which commenced its career by uttering the ideas of equality and liberty that live in the throbbing hearts of the toiling masses, and nurse even the wavering hopes of hapless bondmen amid the thick gloom of ruthless oppression, more than four million human beings, made in the image of God, are held in perpetual bondage. By inexorable laws, sanctioned by the merciless force of public opinion, these millions are denied the rights of manhood, and degraded to the abject condition of chattelhood. To them, the hallowed relations of husband and wife, parent and child, are held not by the sacred rights of a common humanity, but by the will of masters. The laws, the customs, the public opinion, which have sunk these millions from the dignity of humanity down to the degradation of chattels, have founded and developed a privileged class, which now controls the slaveholding States. This class now rules these fifteen States, abrogating, in support of its interests, the inborn, inbred, constitutional right of freedom of speech and freedom of the press. In these States, the power of this class is overshadowing, resistless, complete.

Over the Federal Government this class, this slave power, has achieved complete dominion. The slave power this day holds the National Government, in all its departments, in absolute subjugation. In this Chamber, where sit the representatives of sovereign Commonwealths, that power retains unbroken sway. That power bids the Supreme Court utter its decrees, and that high tribunal obeys its imperative commands. That power holds the President in the hollow of its hand, compelling him to declare that "slavery exists in Kansas by virtue of the Constitution;" that "the master has the right to take his slave into the Territories as property, and have it protected there under the Federal Constitution;" that "neither Congress nor the Territorial Legislature, nor any human power, has any authority to annul or impair this vested right." That power summoned the aspiring Vice President to his own Kentucky, to give his assurances "that this constitutional right exists;" that "we must hold to this principle, we must stand by it;" and "if it cannot be enforced for want of proper legislation to enforce it, sufficient legislation must be passed, or our Government is a failure." That power lays its iron hand upon the representatives of free and proud Commonwealths in this Chamber and in the other, compelling them to disavow their own recorded opinions, to accept the monstrous dogma, that "neither Congress, nor a Territorial Legislature, nor any human power, has any authority to annul or impair the vested right" of the master to have his slave protected as property in the Territories under the Federal Constitution. Well might the Vice President, in view of the recent triumphs and the imperial sway of the slave power, proudly say to the men of his native Kentucky, "We stand in a good position!" "We have the Executive; we have the laws; we have the courts; and that is a great advance from where we stood ten years ago!"

The glowing pages of that history which records the deeds of the heroic men who, in defence of the inherent and indefeasible rights of humanity, accepted the bloody issues of civil war, and defied and baffled the gigantic power of the British Empire, won national independence, and framed a Constitution for united America, bear to us of this generation the amplest evidences that they, with rare exceptions, believed slavery to be a local and temporary evil, which British avarice planted and British power nurtured in America, and which the advancing current of a humane and Christian civilization would sweep from the land it stained and polluted. But seventy years, Mr. President, have now passed away since the inauguration of the Government under the Federal Constitution. That six hundred thousand bondmen, valued at less than fifty million dollars, have increased to four million, valued at more than two thousand million. That feeble system of African slavery, which seemed to the hopeful eyes of our patriotic fathers smitten with the disease of original sin, has expanded into a gigantic system, which now casts its chilling influences over the land, polluting the very sources of national life, perverting the moral sense of the nation, corrupting the sentiment of justice, humanity, and liberty, and leaving the traces of its ruinous power upon the institutions and upon the soil of the Republic, which it turns to barrenness and desolation.

Sir, this expansion and growth of the system of African slavery, this development of the slave power, during the past seventy years, have wrought a wonderful change, a complete revolution, in the sentiments and opinions of the public men who control the councils of America. What a contrast between slavery in America in 1789, and slavery in America in 1860! Then, it was weak; now, it is strong. Then, its influences over the nation were impotent; now, it holds the Government in its iron grasp. Then, the public men who dictated the policy of the Government deemed it to be a moral, social, and political evil, which humanity and religion deplored; now, it is regarded by the men who control the Government as a positive good, a beneficent system, "a great moral," in the words of the Senator from Mississippi, [Mr BROWN,] "social, and political blessing; a blessing to the master and a blessing to the slave." Then, to prohibit it in the Territories was deemed alike the right and duty of the Government; now, the avowed doctrine of the Administration of the Government is, that the slaveholders have the right to carry their slaves as property into the Territories, and hold them there as property by virtue of the Constitution, and that "neither Congress nor a Territorial Legislature, nor any human power, has authority to annul or impair this vested right." Then, to cherish, as a living faith, the creed that "all men are created equal," to believe slavery to be an evil; to believe with Henry, that "a time would come to abolish this lamentable evil;" and with Jefferson, that "nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that this people shall be free," brought neither proscription from power, nor infamy from the people; now, these sentiments bring upon the public man the proscriptions of power, the ridicule and reproach of presses in the interest of power, and subject the American citizen, whose rights are guarded by constitutional guaranties, in the slave States to the insults and degrading indignities of lawless and brutal mobs, maddened by the fanaticism of slavery, to arrests, imprisonments, fines, and banishment. Then, the people of America confided their new Government to the guardianship and guidance of statesmen, known by their acts and recorded opinions to be unalterably opposed to the slave trade, to the perpetuity of slavery, to its expansion into the vast empire of the Northwest; now, the public men of America, who inherit the sentiments and opinions of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Adams, Jay, Hamilton, and their illustrious compeers, who would consecrate the territorial possessions of the Republic to free institutions for all, are admonished, in these Chambers, that they will not be permitted, in the slave States, to avow their sentiments, or to advocate the election of a Presidency, in 1860, of a candidate representing their policy; ay, that the election of such a candidate will be cause for the dissolution of the Union.

In the month of August, 1620, twenty African bondmen were borne into the waters of Virginia. At Jamestown, in 1620, began that system of human slavery in America, which now, in 1860, haughtily assumes to mould and fashion the policy of the nation; to expand itself over the vast possessions of the Republic; to repress the inborn right of the freedom of speech and of the press; to arrest and to imprison, to scourge and to banish American citizens for entertaining, cherishing, and uttering the sentiments of the great statesmen of the North and of the South, who carried us through the fire and blood of the Revolution—statesmen whose names are forever associated with national independence and constitutional freedom.

This system of African slavery, planted on the shores of Virginia, grew and spread over America under the colonial and commercial policy of England. Encouraged by British legislation, and fostered by royal favor, the merchants of England transported from the shores of Western Africa, to the thirteen British colonies, from the middle of the seventeenth century to 1776, more than three hundred thousand of the children of Africa. The coffers of her merchants were filled with gold, soiled with the blood of these hapless bondmen. For nearly two centuries the party of the slave trade controlled the Government, and directed the policy of England. Kings and queens, lords and commons, judges, attorneys general, and bishops, all gave to the traffic in the bodies of men their persistent support. Parliament pronounced "the trade highly advantageous to the kingdom and its colonies." Queen Anne instructed the Governor of New York and New Jersey "to give due encouragement to the Royal African Company." The merchants and manufacturers clamored for the extension and protection of the African slave traffic; and when the charter of the Royal African Company expired, in 1749, the ports of Africa, for thirty degrees, from Cape Blanco to Loango St. Paul's, were thrown open to the free competition of British commerce. Under this colonial and commercial policy of England, the traffic in the bodies of men, between the coasts of Africa and the Spanish, French, and British colonies in the western world, expanded into gigantic proportions, and slavery spread and increased with such fearful rapidity, that the American colonies were startled and appalled; and "laws designed to restrict importations of slaves," says Bancroft, "are scattered along the records of colonial legislation." To check their importation, Virginia imposed a tax; but "the African Company obtained the repeal of the law." "The British Government," says Madison, "constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to this *infernal traffic*." Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia, forbade slavery; but the merchants got the Government to sanction slavery there." Even South Carolina, for attempting to restrict the slave traffic, received the rebuke of the British Government, which steadily and relentlessly resisted all colonial action tending to check the inhuman traffic in the souls and bodies of men. Up to the hour of national independence, the Government of England sternly rejected all colonial restrictions upon slavery and the slave trade, and persisted in the policy of forcing that trade upon all her colonies, which were "not allowed," in the words of the Earl of Dartmouth, in 1775, "to check or discourage, in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to the nation." British avarice planted slavery in America; British legislation nurtured and sustained it; and British statesmen sanctioned and guarded it.

In spite, however, of the avarice of the men who guided the commercial and colonial policy of England, in spite of the potent influences of the statesmen who swayed the councils of the Throne, the slave trade and slavery found sturdy opponents in England and America. In the middle of the eighteenth century, years before Granville Sharpe brought James Somerset before the King's Bench—twenty years before Mansfield pronounced that immortal opinion, which reversed the joint opinion of York and Talbot, that "a slave coming into Great Britain doth not become free," and made it forever impossible for slaves to breathe the air of England—John Woolman traversed America, proclaiming to Christian men that "the practice of continuing men in slavery was not right;" that "liberty was the natural right of all men equally." This early apostle of emancipation found many slave masters on the banks of the Hudson, the Delaware, and the Potomac, who encouraged the emancipation of the bondmen, "because they had no contract for their labor, and liberty was their right." During the years of agitation and discussion, from the treaty of Paris in 1762 to the opening dawn of the Revolution at Lexington—years, during which the rights of the colonies and the rights of man were discussed with masterly power by the most gifted minds of America, the popular leaders in New England, the middle colonies, and Virginia, did not fail to see and to acknowledge the wrongfulness of slavery, and to denounce the slave trade and the slavery-extending policy of the British Government. The records of those days of trial and of glory will bear to all coming time the amplest evidence that the men who inaugurated the Revolution, carried America from colonial dependence to national independence, were not only hostile to the slave trade, but to the perpetual existence of slavery itself.

When the first Congress assembled in 1774, the humanity of the colonies, long repressed and baffled by the power of England, found utterance. That assemblage of illustrious men declared that "God never intended a part of the human race to hold property in, and unbounded power over, others; that they would not import slaves, or buy slaves imported by others." These illustrious statesmen framed the articles of association which united the colonies in one federative Union. By the second article of that bond of union, the slave trade was prohibited; and that prohibition of the inhuman traffic in man was sustained by the men of the North and the men of the South, and by the colonies of the North and of the South. Thus did the slave trade, which Jefferson afterwards, in the original draft of the Declaration, branded as "execrable commerce," a "piratical war," receive the condemnation of the men who accepted the bloody issues of civil war in defence of their perilled liberties.

When the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed, nearly half a million of men were held in bondage in America. Influenced by the rising spirit of liberty, by the awakened sense of the natural rights of man, which had found utterance in the charter of independence, the Northern States early adopted measures tending to emancipation. Nor were efforts for the emancipation of the bondmen confined to the Northern States. Jefferson and Wythe, commissioned to revise the laws of Virginia, after the peace of 1783, prepared a plan of gradual emancipation; but timid counsels prevailed, and the Old Dominion failed to take her place in the list of free Commonwealths. Timidity, the sordid spirit of gain, the lust and pride of the privileged class—not the humane sentiments of Washington and Henry, Jefferson and Wythe, Mason and Randolph—controlled the policy of that great State. But Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Dr. Price, of England, in 1785, thus spoke of the cause of emancipation in Virginia:

> "This is the next State to which we may turn our eyes for the interesting spectacle of *justice in conflict with avarice and oppression*—a conflict wherein the sacred side is gaining recruits, from the influx into office of young men grown up and growing up. These have sucked in the principles of liberty, as it were, with their mother's milk; and it is to them I look with anxiety to turn the fate of the question."

When the Convention assembled in May, 1787, to frame the Constitution of the United States, Massachusetts was a free Commonwealth. The foot of the slave no longer pressed the rock of Plymouth, nor the hallowed sods of Lexington, Concord, or Bunker Hill. Other Northern States had taken measures for ultimate emancipation; but slavery, in its modified form, still lingered in the North. In the whole country, nearly six hundred thousand human beings were held in servitude; but these bondmen were only estimated at the average value of eighty dollars each; and Elbridge Gerry estimated the whole value of the slaves at that time, south of the Potomac, at $10,000,000. Slavery existed in each of the States by the mere force of the laws, usages, and regulations, of the people of each State where it was recognised as a mere local institution.

In that assemblage of illustrious statesmen, met to frame a Constitution for a free people, were men whose wisdom in council and valor in the field had carried the country through the fire of a revolutionary war. The baptism of freedom was on their brows, and its spirit burned in their bosoms. Over that assemblage of statesmen presided the peerless Washington, who "wished as much as any man living to see slavery abolished by legislative authority;" and to "accomplish it by the only proper and effective mode," his "suffrage should never be wanting." Franklin regarded slavery as "an atrocious debasement of human nature," and he was prepared to "step to the verge of vested power to discourage every species of traffic in the bodies of our fellow-men." Madison, whose name is forever associated with the Constitution of the United States, pronounced slavery "a dreadful calamity," and he "thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man." Gouverneur Morris, whose hand was to give the finishing form to the work of the Convention, denounced slavery as "a nefarious institution." Luther Martin believed that "God was Lord of all, viewing with equal eye the poor African slave and his American master;" and he would "authorize the General Government to make such regulations as should be most advantageous for the gradual abolition of slavery and the emancipation of the slaves which were born right of the freedom of speech and of the press; to arrest and to imprison, to scourge and to banish American citizens for entertaining, cherishing, and uttering the sentiments of the great statesmen of the North and of the South, who carried us through the fire and blood of the Revolution—statesmen whose names are forever associated with national independence and constitutional freedom.

This system of African slavery, planted on the shores of Virginia, grew and spread over America under the colonial and commercial policy of England. Encouraged by British legislation, and fostered by royal favor, the merchants of England transported from the shores of Western Africa, to the thirteen British colonies, from the middle of the seventeenth century to 1776, more than three hundred thousand of the children of Africa. The coffers of her merchants were filled with gold, soiled with the blood of these hapless bondmen. For nearly two centuries the party of the slave trade controlled the Government, and directed the policy of England. Kings and queens, lords and commons, judges, attorneys general, and bishops, all gave to the traffic in the bodies of men their persistent support. Parliament pronounced "the trade highly advantageous to the kingdom and its colonies." Queen Anne instructed the Governor of New York and New Jersey "to give due encouragement to the Royal African Company." The merchants and manufacturers clamored for the extension and protection of the African slave traffic; and when the charter of the Royal African Company expired, in 1749, the ports of Africa, for thirty degrees, from Cape Blanco to Loango St. Paul's, were thrown open to the free competition of British commerce. Under this colonial and commercial policy of England, the traffic in the bodies of men, between the coasts of Africa and the Spanish, French, and British colonies in the western world, expanded into gigantic proportions, and slavery spread and increased with such fearful rapidity, that the American colonies were startled and appalled; and "laws designed to restrict importations of slaves," says Bancroft, "are scattered along the records of colonial legislation." To check their importation, Virginia imposed a tax; but "the African Company obtained the repeal of the law." "The British Government," says Madison, "constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to this *infernal traffic*." Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia, forbade slavery; but the merchants got the Government to sanction slavery there." Even South Carolina, for attempting to restrict the slave traffic, received the rebuke of the British Government, which steadily and relentlessly resisted all colonial action tending to check the inhuman traffic in the souls and bodies of men. Up to the hour of national independence, the Government of England sternly rejected all colonial restrictions upon slavery and the slave trade, and persisted in the policy of forcing that trade upon all her colonies, which were "not allowed," in the words of the Earl of Dartmouth, in 1775, "to check or discourage, in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to the nation." British avarice planted slavery in America; British legislation nurtured and sustained it; and British statesmen sanctioned and guarded it.

In spite, however, of the avarice of the men who guided the commercial and colonial policy of England, in spite of the potent influences of the statesmen who swayed the councils of the Throne, the slave trade and slavery found sturdy opponents in England and America. In the middle of the eighteenth century, years before Granville Sharpe brought James Somerset before the King's Bench—twenty years before Mansfield pronounced that immortal opinion, which reversed the joint opinion of York and Talbot, that "a slave coming into Great Britain doth not become free," and made it forever impossible for slaves to breathe the air of England—John Woolman traversed America, proclaiming to Christian men that "the practice of continuing men in slavery was not right;" that "liberty was the natural right of all men equally." This early apostle of emancipation found many slave masters on the banks of the Hudson, the Delaware, and the Potomac, who encouraged the emancipation of the bondmen, "because they had no contract for their labor, and liberty was their right." During the years of agitation and discussion, from the treaty of Paris in 1762 to the opening dawn of the Revolution at Lexington—years, during which the rights of the colonies and the rights of man were discussed with masterly power by the most gifted minds of America, the popular leaders in New England, the middle colonies, and Virginia, did not fail to see and to acknowledge the wrongfulness of slavery, and to denounce the slave trade and the slavery-extending policy of the British Government. The records of those days of trial and of glory will bear to all coming time the amplest evidence that the men who inaugurated the Revolution, carried America from colonial dependence to national independence, were not only hostile to the slave trade, but to the perpetual existence of slavery itself.

When the first Congress assembled in 1774, the humanity of the colonies, long repressed and baffled by the power of England, found utterance. That assemblage of illustrious men declared that "God never intended a part of the human race to hold property in, and unbounded power over, others; that they would not import slaves, or buy slaves imported by others." These illustrious statesmen framed the articles of association which united the colonies in one federative Union. By the second article of that bond of union, the slave trade was prohibited; and that prohibition of the inhuman traffic in man was sustained by the men of the North and the men of the South, and by the colonies of the North and of the South. Thus did the slave trade, which Jefferson afterwards, in the original draft of the Declaration, branded as "execrable commerce," a "piratical war," receive the condemnation of the men who accepted the bloody issues of civil war in defence of their perilled liberties.

When the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed, nearly half a million of men were held in bondage in America. Influenced by the rising spirit of liberty, by the awakened sense of the natural rights of man, which had found utterance in the charter of independence, the Northern States early adopted measures tending to emancipation. Nor were efforts for the emancipation of the bondmen confined to the Northern States. Jefferson and Wythe, commissioned to revise the laws of Virginia, after the peace of 1783, prepared a plan of gradual emancipation; but timid counsels prevailed, and the Old Dominion failed to take her place in the list of free Commonwealths. Timidity, the sordid spirit of gain, the lust and pride of the privileged class—not the humane sentiments of Washington and Henry, Jefferson and Wythe, Mason and Randolph—controlled the policy of that great State. But Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Dr. Price, of England, in 1785, thus spoke of the cause of emancipation in Virginia:

> "This is the next State to which we may turn our eyes for the interesting spectacle of *justice in conflict with avarice and oppression*—a conflict wherein the sacred side is gaining recruits, from the influx into office of young men grown up and growing up. These have sucked in the principles of liberty, as it were, with their mother's milk; and it is to them I look with anxiety to turn the fate of the question."

When the Convention assembled in May, 1787, to frame the Constitution of the United States, Massachusetts was a free Commonwealth. The foot of the slave no longer pressed the rock of Plymouth, nor the hallowed sods of Lexington, Concord, or Bunker Hill. Other Northern States had taken measures for ultimate emancipation; but slavery, in its modified form, still lingered in the North. In the whole country, nearly six hundred thousand human beings were held in servitude; but these bondmen were only estimated at the average value of eighty dollars each; and Elbridge Gerry estimated the whole value of the slaves at that time, south of the Potomac, at $10,000,000. Slavery existed in each of the States by the mere force of the laws, usages, and regulations, of the people of each State where it was recognised as a mere local institution.

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But there came into that Convention the representatives of a small but powerful class, which clung, in South Carolina and Georgia, with relentless tenacity to the British slave-trading and slave-extending and slave-perpetuating policy. In "compliasance to this class in South Carolina and Georgia," the signers of the Declaration of Independence had erased from the original draft of Jefferson the arraignment of the British monarch for "waging cruel war against human nature itself;" "violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people, who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere." This class had broken the second article of the association of union, which prohibited the importation and the traffic in slaves; and in that time of trial and of anxiety, when the men who had met undismayed the power of England on the perilous ridges of battle, trembled for the future of their country, the representatives of this slaveholding class of the extreme South came into that council of patriotic statesmen, ready to peril the unity of the Republic, unless they could wring from the Convention the power to continue the inhuman, loathsome, and polluted traffic in the muscles and bones of men—a traffic which Jefferson branded as an "execrable commerce," and Madison pronounced "infernal." To silence the clamorous demands of the Pinckneys and Baldwins—the Butlers and Rutledges—representative of this class—the Convention made a compromise, by which they permitted the slave trade to continue for twenty years longer, unchecked by national legislation, three-fifths of the slaves to be represented in the House, and a provision to be incorporated into the Constitution for the rendition of persons owing service or labor in one State, escaping into another. These concessions were wrung from the Convention, not by the power of the slaveholding class, but by its weakness, rather; by the fatal confidence of the statesmen of that day, that slavery would soon pass away under the influences of the ideas that liberty, and laying the foundation of an aristocracy of the most dangerous and malignant kind, rendering power permanent and hereditary in the hands of those persons who declare their origin through white ancestors only." Such were the liberal sentiments of a statesman of exalted character and large and varied experiences, who acted as a member of the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence, and as Secretary of Foreign Affairs under the Confederation; who administered the oath of office to the first President, and negotiated the treaty for the acquisition of Louisiana.

That slave power now compels public men, nurtured and reared amidst the influences of free institutions, to hasten with alacrity to disavow past sentiments and opinions, to accept the dogmas of the slave propaganda, and to join in hunting down old comrades. That power has established in the slave States a relentless despotism over the freedom of speech and of the press, and of correspondence through the mails. That power will not permit American citizens to entertain, utter, print, or circulate, sentiments and opinions concerning slavery, which were avowed by Jefferson, Henry, Mason, and the great men of Virginia of the Revolutionary era, or even by McDowell, Summers, and Randolph, in the Convention of 1830. The American citizen, living under a Constitution which guaranties free speech, holds that right subject to arbitrary laws or to the lawless acts of brutal mobs. George Fitzhugh, one of the apostles of slavery, the author of a work on "THE FAILURE OF FREE SOCIETY," in which he avows the doctrine that "slavery, BLACK OR WHITE, is right and necessary," now declares, with regard to the "right of private judgment, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of religion," that "the South takes care to trammel these sterner rights (so called) quite as efficiently, by an austere public opinion, as Louis Napoleon does by law, or by mere volition;" that "we propose to deter men from applying the axe to the root of our Southern institutions, (that is, by discussions or recurring to 'fundamental principles,') first by moral suasion or monition, next by tar and feathers, and, that failing, by the halter."

Sir, what a humiliating spectacle does the Republic now present to the gaze of mankind! I speak not of the millions of beings sunk from the lofty level of a common humanity down to the abject submission of unreasoning beasts of burden, nor of the laws that shrivel the mind and debase the soul of the bondman; but I speak of the deeds of lawlessness and inhumanity against free American citizens—deeds which shock every manly bosom. The mails daily bring us intelligence of the lawless deeds of brutal mobs, of the indignities perpetrated upon freemen guilty of no crime, unless it be a crime, in 1860, to cling to the opinions of the fathers of the Republic. The Post Office Department, the Postmaster General tells us, "pervades every channel of commerce and every theatre of human enterprise; and while visiting, as it does kindly, every fireside, mingles with the throbbings of almost every heart in the land. In the amplitude of its beneficence, it ministers to all climes and creeds and pursuits, with the same eager readiness and with equal fullness of fidelity." This Post Office Department, in nearly half the States, is at the mercy of the stupidity or prejudice of postmasters, maddened by slavery fanaticism, and the correspondence of the people and the public journals may be examined, seized, and destroyed, by these censors of despotism; and this may be and is done under the open sanction of the Administration. Families are banished from their homes. Free colored men are forced to break the holy ties of kindred, seek homes among strangers, or be doomed to perpetual slavery, by laws which "propose," in the words of Judge Catron, of the Supreme Court, "*to commit an outrage, to perpetrate an oppression and cruelty.*" Surely there is no country in Christendom—no, not one—where the freemen of the United States are exposed to such insults, such indignities, such lawless oppressions, as in the slaveholding States of this Democratic Republic. The President calls our attention to the outrages perpetrated upon American citizens in Mexico. There is, sir, more security for the citizens of Massachusetts, for the eighteen million people of the North, in revolutionary Mexico, rent and torn by civil war, than in the slaveholding States. More insults, indignities, and outrages, have been heaped upon freemen in the slave States, during the past one hundred days, than have been perpetrated upon American citizens in Mexico during all the changes and revolutions and civil strifes which have marked the forty years of her independent existence.

Mr. President, the statesmen of the South, in the filibuster and in the other wing of the Capitol, frankly admit that a revolution concerning slavery has been wrought in the public sentiment of the slaveholding States. This admitted revolution in the sentiments of the people of the South has wrought the change in the policy of the slave States and of the National Government now so unmistakably manifest. How did the slaveholding class—a mere handful of men in this nation of twenty-six million freemen—work this change in the policy of the nation; a change which the sense of justice, the love of liberty, the humane and Christian sentiments of the age, condemn? How did this small, and, so far as numbers are concerned, insignificant class of slaveholders, achieve over the councils of Republican America an influence so potential?

This slaveholding class, which shapes and fashions at its pleasure the policy of the General Government, was borne into power by the Democratic party; and it is this day upheld in power by the Democratic party. Acquiring the ascendency in the Democratic party, this privileged class has imposed its hateful dogmas upon that party, compelling it to carry its flag, to fight its battles, and to bear the crushing burden of its crimes against the rights of human nature. Democrats of the free States, men born under the inspiring influences of free institutions, reared in free schools, instructed in free churches, have, during the last fifteen years, borne the banner of slavery extension, and often ingloriously fallen under the consuming wrath of a betrayed and indignant people. The Democracy of the North is as much the instrument of the slave power for extending, upholding, and perpetuating human slavery in America, as is the army of the Emperor of Austria in maintaining his despotic rule in Hungary and Venetia.

Sir, when the army returned from Mexico, bringing with it the title-deeds to half a million square miles of free soil, the people of the free States desired it to be consecrated forever to freedom and free institutions. The Democracy of the North, obedient to the popular will, gave their support to the policy of slave prohibition; but the slave power imperiously demanded the abandonment of the principle of slave inhibition, and Democracy obeyed the peremptory mandate, abandoned the Jefferson proviso, and organized Utah and New Mexico without any guaranties for freedom. The slave power, in the hour of its triumph in its territorial policy, required a new fugitive slave law; and the Northern Democracy consented to the enactment of a law which violated every legal guaranty of freemen, shocked the sense of justice, and put in jeopardy the liberties of freemen, of which the legal rights of the poorest and the humblest outweigh the interests of every slaveholder in America. In 1854, the slave propagandists demanded the repeal of the prohibition of slavery in Kansas and Nebraska; and the Democracy, in compliasance to the slave power, repealed that prohibition. Five thousand armed men of Missouri marched into Kansas, seized the ballot-boxes, elected a Territorial Legislature, planted slavery, enacted inhuman and unchristian laws for its support. The slave power demanded the enforcement of those arbitrary enactments by the General Government, and President Pierce upheld them with the bayonets of the army; and in this he was supported by the Democracy of the North. The slave power demanded that Governor Walker and Secretary Stanton should be removed for exposing the pro-slavery frauds of the October election of 1857; and President Buchanan forced Walker to resign, and removed Stanton, who would not bend; and the Democracy of the North upheld the action of the President.

To crown the long series of outrages upon the people of Kansas, the slave power demanded that Congress should force the Lecompton Constitution, the product of fraud and violence, upon an unwilling and protesting people; and the Democracy of the North, with few exceptions, responded to that infamous demand. The slave power requires the abandonment of the doctrine, that the people of a Territory can legislate against slavery, and the acceptance of the dogma that the Constitution protects slavery as property in the Territories; and the leaders of the Democracy of the North in this Chamber, with two or three exceptions, accept this new creed, which makes every foot of the Territories of the Republic slave soil. The acknowledged chiefs of the slave power are demanding a national slave code for the Territories; and already the aspiring leaders of the Democracy of the North are hastening to give assurances that they are prepared to acquiesce in that extraordinary demand. The chiefs of the slave propaganda are turning their lustful eyes to Cuba, Central America, and Mexico, for territory in which to plant slavery; for they hold, that in whatever territory, acquired or to be acquired, the flag of the Union waves, slavery is emancipated bondmen the full rights of citizenship and the right of suffrage; for they "could not," he said, "be deprived of these essential rights without shocking the principles of equal liberty, and laying the foundation of an aristocracy of the most dangerous and malignant kind, rendering power permanent and hereditary in the hands of those persons who declare their origin through white ancestors only." Such were the liberal sentiments of a statesman of exalted character and large and varied experiences, who acted as a member of the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence, and as Secretary of Foreign Affairs under the Confederation; who administered the oath of office to the first President, and negotiated the treaty for the acquisition of Louisiana.

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